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the American Teacher



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Official Publication of the American Federation of Teachers

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Teachers Union in Action

61 SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.—

The following resolution was passed by the California State Federation of Labor, at its annual convention, following presentation by the San Francisco Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The present curricula of the public schools of California are lacking in provision for the teaching of labor problems; and

WHEREAS, It is essential to the proper and efficient functioning of democracy that the citizens thereof be well versed in the problems of labor; and that they benefit from the lessons of labor history; let it be

RESOLVED, That the California State Federation of Labor approve courses in labor problems as part of the curricula of junior and senior high schools and the State Federation urge upon the City Labor Councils active co-operation with the American Federation of Teachers' Locals in their communities in the matter of setting up these courses; and let it be further

RESOLVED, That the State Federation of Labor recommend to the State Board of Education and to the boards of education of the various school districts, the inclusion of such courses in labor history and labor problems in the curricula of the junior and senior high schools of the State of California.

★ ★ ★

89 ATLANTA, GA.—Miss Ira

Jarrell, president of the Atlanta Public School Teachers Association and vice-president of the Atlanta Federation of Trades, headed the Labor Division of the Community Fund Appeal, October 20-30. In this connection she wrote a signed editorial, October 24, for the *Atlanta Journal of Labor* entitled "Labor Will Not Fail Community Fund." She also spoke early this fall over WGST, her address being one of a series sponsored by the AFT on "Labor and Defense."

The staff of the *Atlanta Teacher* is headed this year by C. E. Lawrence, Tech High School, with the following associate editors: Nathan Miller, O'Keefe Junior High;

Louise Jeanes, S. M. Inman; Margaret Johnson, W. F. Slaton; Sara Lee Hogan, Kingsbery; Mrs. Catherine McKee, Hoke Smith Junior High; Margaret Ridgely, Williams; Arrienne Thrasher, Luckie Street. Sarah Bradshaw, last year's editor, will serve this year as third vice-president of the Association.

A number of schools have already turned in dues to the Association. Several of these report 100 per cent membership and it is believed that the total number of members for 1941-42 will surpass the membership total for last year. For the past several years the membership has shown a steady increase.

★ ★ ★

246 CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

—The Chattanooga-Hamilton County Teachers' Union has recently proposed to both city and county that teachers be paid as a regular procedure each year on or about the first of each month beginning in October for city and county suburban teachers, and on or about September 1 for county rural teachers, and that the final or ninth check be paid on the last day of the school year.

The county board of education voted to accept the proposal of the Union, provided that the county teachers are overwhelmingly in favor of the proposal. The board further voted to ask the Union to poll all the county teachers on the question.

Stanton E. Smith, national vice-

president of the AFT, was elected financial secretary of the Central Labor Union, to fill out the unexpired term of Erskine Mabee, resigned. Mr. Smith has been a delegate to the Central Body from the Teachers Union for nine years; during that time he has served in various important posts in his Union and the Central Body. At the time he was elected financial secretary, he was serving as a trustee, a post which he resigned to assume his new duties.

John T. Whitaker, veteran correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News* service, will return to his native Chattanooga on November 21 to speak on "Hitler's Triple Power Pact and the Americas," under the auspices of the Local.

★ ★ ★

24 NEW YORK, N. Y.—Dr.

George S. Counts, President, and Jane Souba, Regional Vice-President of the American Federation of Teachers, were welcome guests at the October meeting. Dr. Counts spoke briefly on the topic "Trade Unionism and the National Crisis."

The committee on education presented a report to the New York State Federation of Labor Convention held at Syracuse in August and was instrumental in the passage of a resolution by that body on trade experience for principals of vocational high schools.

Superior Wins 4% Raise

202 SUPERIOR, WIS.—The

Superior Federation of Teachers has been instrumental in securing an increase in wages for all school employees in Superior. The Board of Education approved a budget that restored the teachers and all other employees to schedule, and included in the budget an emergency appropriation that will make possible a general 4 per cent raise for all school employees.

The initiative for the move was

supplied by the Federation when its representatives appeared before the board at its September meeting and requested: (1) that the salary schedule now in operation be adhered to; and (2) that a 10 per cent raise in salary be granted to all employees. The Council of Education, an all-inclusive teacher group, and its salary committee endorsed the union request. The Superior Trades and Labor Assembly added their support when a special

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THE EDITORS of the AMERICAN TEACHER request that no material be reprinted from this magazine without an accompanying credit line stating the source and the issue in which such material appeared.

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GEORGE T. GUERNSEY, *Editor*

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Defeat of Tax Levies Hits Rockford, Toledo Schools

AS WE GO to press, newspaper reports indicate that public school education has suffered blows in at least two important American cities.

In Rockford, Illinois, public schools on the advent of National Education Week were closed for a six weeks period due to lack of funds. The school closing affects some 13,000 school children and 475 teachers. Twenty-one school buildings will remain closed from November 10 until January 5, 1942.

In Toledo, Ohio, a school operating levy was defeated by a vote of 36,000 to 21,000. Defeat of the levy, according to board of education officials, means continued shut-down of kindergartens, shortened school term, and the charging of fees to high school students. Further, there seemed little likelihood of salary restorations for school employees, now receiving 83 per cent of their basic scales.

Minnesota Board of Education "Formally" Dismisses Rockwell

BY A VOTE of 4-1, the Minnesota Board of Education has formally dismissed Dr. John Rockwell, State Commissioner of Education, for "inefficiency, malaad-

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ministration and insubordination." The long fight to defend the state school system from the political machinations of Gov. Harold Stassen has thus ended in temporary defeat.

That it may be only temporary was indicated by spokesmen for the AFT and other teachers' groups that the decision to dismiss Dr. Rockwell is being taken to court because of the precedent it sets for political control of education. Dr. Rockwell himself has been working with the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs in California since last June.

Price, Profit Control Laws Necessary to Stem Inflation

THE REVENUE ACT of 1942 marks a sharp return toward regressive taxation. In the present period of heavy defense spending this may be necessary. Heavy defense demands for scarce materials will cause rapidly rising prices unless non-defense demands are checked. Since regressive taxation, generally speaking, bears with proportionately less weight on the high than on the low incomes, it will reduce spending, for it is those with low incomes who spend most or all of their income. Through regressive taxation, therefore, money is diverted from non-defense spending in such a way that demand for non-defense goods is reduced by the amount that it is increased for war purposes. In an inflationary situation, therefore, the Revenue Act properly attempts to increase saving through taxation—the "saving" of scarce goods and the "saving" of money for war uses.

Taxation should not, however, be the main remedy for inflation. Two other methods of controlling inflation which have not been sufficiently utilized are price control and profit control. Until Congress adequately implements the Henderson or Gore plans or follows the sound advice of Baruch, we shall have no genuine assurance against inflation. To exert control

over wages, either through regressive taxation or through more direct methods, is both unfair and inadequate until there is effective price control.

Furthermore, the forms of taxation adopted in the recent revenue enactments do not deal adequately with the problem, and in some respects have been unfair. The excess profits tax does not offer sufficient control over profits. Although the rates of this tax have recently been increased 10 per cent, corporations are still allowed to choose from two alternative bases of estimation: return on invested capital or average earnings.

The result is that corporations whose average earnings during the base period 1936-9 were relatively high may avoid taxation to a considerable extent. Yet profits, which determine much of the investment and luxury spending, must be controlled as much as wages if we are to avoid inflation. Secretary Morgenthau's proposal of a 6 per cent profit maximum is therefore sound, if only as a publicity device to accustom us to the idea of profit control. Indeed, 6 per cent is above the average profit in many fields if a period of ten years or more is taken into account.

The most serious weakness in the Revenue Act is the unduly regressive character of its provisions. There was no justification for reducing the personal income exemptions. Congress should have retained the provision which required married couples with two incomes to file joint instead of single returns, and should have refrained from imposing such extremely heavy rates on personal incomes below \$5,000. The Act failed to increase estate tax rates. When it is considered that increased taxation of incomes between \$5,000 and \$50,000 would have been sufficient for our present needs, the unnecessarily regressive character of the present Revenue Act becomes apparent.

WILLIAM WITHERS

Chairman of the AFT Committee on Taxation

Attempts to Curtail WPA Program Must Be Fought

AMID THE MAZE of overlapping institutional loyalties at Washington, various organizations developed during the emergency are under scrutiny with a view to their discontinuance and incorporation into the permanent set-up of the Office of Education or an allied institution. The Educational Policies Commission of the NEA has asked, for example, for the abolition of the CCC and NYA as separate agencies, while simultaneously emphasizing the advances which have been made by those institutions in giving youth the educational opportunity otherwise denied.

In the matter of WPA activity, there has been a strong tendency to underestimate and even misrepresent the outstanding contributions which it has made to the physical and cultural enrichment of the United States. From the viewpoint of human engineering,

statistics can never express what the WPA meant to the morale of the unemployed individuals who otherwise might have degenerated beyond the possibility of rehabilitation through enforced idleness, while receiving from grudging hands the bitter bread of charity. In setting up educational facilities the WPA was able to find an outlet with fewer obstacles than it met in industry. The WPA work of writers, artists, dramatists, and educators is not subject to the usual measuring stick of dollars and cents. We shall have to wait for some imaginative historian to give the credit due and evaluate its effects upon the community.

For the last two or three years Congress, influenced by current misconception of the WPA and wanting to cut down non-defense expenditures, has reduced the WPA appropriation. The general public too easily assumes that our unemployed are going to be completely absorbed in the defense industries. They forget that unemployment, despite the great reductions, is still at the serious figure of five million and that it is estimated that priorities unemployment may increase that figure again by two million. The Detroit Convention of the AFT studied this problem and declared that the WPA should be extended rather than restricted in view of the tremendous opportunities and needs for the WPA educational activities. However, the Convention agreed that such services should be eventually taken from the relief basis and be made part of the educational system of our country with, of course, the proper safeguards for professional standards and the training of teachers whose potentialities have been revealed by their record of successful WPA work.

In many of the boom towns all the normal social problems have been intensified and the community services of the WPA have especially a big role to play in resolving these problems. Men and women must know and understand the democratic rights for which they are being asked to sacrifice and to fight. Among the recruits now joining the trade unions, there is an exceedingly important job of industrial citizenship education to be done so that those members will know their rights and responsibilities as union members. Those who were present at the AFT committee meetings and heard about what was being done, for example, in Indiana by the Workers' Service Program, WPA, could have no doubts about the value of such activity.

We hope that members of the AFT will rally to combat the existing misinformation about the WPA by spreading the true record of its services and the need for its continuance and expansion both now and during the post-war years. We must also give serious consideration to the way in which these advances can be integrated into our permanent educational system so that adult education can enjoy its deserved place. But we cannot scrap the emergency raft until a boat is available.

MARK STARR

Adviser to the AFT Committee on WPA

THE AMERICAN TEACHER

The Consumer's Role in Defense

Mary Dublin

WE HAVE BEEN at work now a little more than a year, engaged in the greatest task this nation has ever faced—the task of maintaining and strengthening our democracy against the Fascist threat which stalks the world. This is, without question, the most important responsibility free men ever took upon themselves.

We entered this year alarmed by the rapidity with which the brutal Fascist force we build against was crushing nation after nation in Europe. But we entered it with characteristic American confidence. We could build an army; we could turn out guns and tanks and airplanes quickly. We said we could have our guns and eat our butter too. We could go about our normal lives and time would find us strong.

As we have gone our easy way, fortunately we have come to realize that we left something out of our calculations. As a people we are beginning to appreciate the characteristics of modern warfare, the characteristics of Fascist warfare. We are coming to see that wars are no longer fought with military machines alone. The war which ravages Europe, and which threatens us here, is a war fought with entire economics and social structures. Nations to endure must be geared as a whole to the task of endurance.

The end of the year finds us wiser and with a lesson learned. We cannot have guns and butter as easily as we thought. We cannot keep tacked on the door the sign: "Business as usual." We cannot afford the easy slogan. We have learned we must roll up our sleeves and do something quite unusual. We have a tremendous task ahead if we are to assure the continued existence of our democracy. Each of us can and must get behind the economic plow and push, and push hard. We have learned that it will take more than a draft, more than the turning out of guns and the setting up of defense councils in Washington to see us through. We have got to get going on the entire economic

and social front and become involved, each and every one of us, in the defense effort, somehow finding a way to play an effective role in the task ahead.

How strengthen democracy? How make America strong? Harriet Elliott, Associate Administrator in charge of the Consumers Division of Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply, has put it in good strong words:

"We must build planes, ships, guns, and tanks. We must equip an army for defense. We must do all this and more. We must build a strong and healthy people, capable of meeting and enduring the responsibilities which this crisis has forced upon us. We must prepare our people physically and mentally to build a stronger and better nation when this crisis ends. Defense is planes and guns. It is equipping an army to man our military weapons. It is this and more. It is building the health and physical fitness, the social well-being of all our people and doing this in the democratic way."

The President made this challenge a national responsibility when he said:

"I would ask no one to defend a democracy which in turn would not defend everyone in the nation against want and privation. The strength of this nation shall not be diluted by the failure of the government to protect the well-being of its citizens."

It was this conviction which gave rise to the organization of the Consumers Division in the National Defense Advisory Council a year ago, and which led to its recent strengthening as it took its place a few months ago as a vital division in the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply—better known as OPACS.

Let me sketch briefly for you what that Division has sought to do during the past year, and try to indicate the new developments in its approach in the current defense scene.

The work of the Consumers Division may be divided into three aspects—its work with various governmental divisions, with business, and with consumers themselves.

This address was delivered at the national convention of the AFT in Detroit last August. Miss Dublin is Consultant for the Consumer Division of the OPACS.

Throughout the year, the Division has worked with purchasing officials in the defense set-up to help lessen the impact of military purchases upon civilian needs. It has examined proposed military orders for food and clothing to determine how these goods could be supplied both to the Army and civilian consumers, with the least unfavorable effect on prices and supplies.

A few examples will illustrate: All the Army quartermaster orders, which are reviewed by the Co-ordinator of Defense Purchases, come to the Consumers Division for analysis before they are placed. Whenever it appears that these orders will cut seriously into the supplies of civilian goods, the Division recommends some modification of the order which will help balance military and civilian needs. If these recommendations for adjustment are consistent with meeting the Army's needs, they are usually carried out.

Another recent example is what happened a few months ago in the matter of shoes for the Army. The specifications for these shoes called for a special type of leather of which there is only a limited supply. Large orders were pushing up the price of this sole leather. The Consumers Division convinced itself of the satisfactory quality of composition soles and its recommendation to the Army that this substitute be used was accepted for a substantial part of its order. Thus a further price rise in leather soles was prevented.

MANY OTHER INSTANCES COULD BE cited of the way in which the Division is working behind the scenes, co-operating with the Co-ordinator of Defense Purchases to expedite the Army's requirements, and at the same time to lessen the impact of these demands on the everyday needs of our citizens. In some cases these recommendations take the form of modifying specifications. In others they have to do with the timing and spacing of orders so that they do not hit the market at the peak of consumer purchasing. Other suggestions concern the tapping of additional sources of supply when shortages threaten.

And so, as the Army and other defense purchasing units fulfill their responsibility, it is the Consumers Division's job to help to see, wherever possible, that these immense purchases result in a minimum of hardship for consumers. This "behind the scene job" may be unspec-

tacular and routine; nevertheless, it helps stabilize the price and increase the availability of many commodities.

In its work with business groups the Division has been active in securing retailer and wholesaler co-operation in preventing unwarranted price rises and harmful selling practices.

Much has been done in co-operation with Better Business Bureaus and other similar groups to help discourage "scare" advertising—the kind that tries to panic consumers into unusual purchasing.

THE CONSUMERS DIVISION IS ALSO helping to provide consumers with a basis for intelligent action in their buying, in order that, through their purchases, they may not only serve themselves but will, as well, contribute to economic stability. The first necessity is adequate information, and the Division in its publication, *Consumer Prices*, makes available to consumers twice monthly information on retail prices, on living costs, and on market conditions. It indicates "best buys" in foods, care of household equipment, substitutes for scarce goods, and gives other similar helpful information. It offers suggestions for consumer protection activity to state and local defense councils and for action by local groups.

Field representatives of the Division have recently gone out into various parts of the country to work with local defense councils and other agencies, at their request, to assist in developing milk and food stamp programs, in setting up nutrition committees and diet clinics, and in general helping consumers to help themselves and so to help the nation.

A further aspect of the Consumers Division's concern that consumer income be real income may be illustrated by its activity in the field of rent control. Rent is the most important factor in rising living costs—taking from 20 per cent to 25 per cent of the worker's earnings. No single expenditure is therefore more closely related to health and morale. Although the past year has seen a rise in total living costs of approximately 6 per cent above the average for 1935-1939, the general figure hides serious problems in living costs in defense communities. A recent survey of a considerable number of defense localities shows rent rises anywhere from 10 per cent to 200 per cent. Housing shortages are acute, especially in defense com-

munities, and rents in many places are skyrocketing. Rents under \$30 are increasing at a far faster rate than in the higher categories. The burden is falling most heavily on those least able to bear it.

Obviously, the only adequate answer is a very substantial and rapid increase in the construction of new dwelling units. OPACS is not in a position to stimulate supply. That is not its function. All it can do, where supply is not keeping pace with demand, is to give assistance in the rent control field. OPACS recognizes that if we fail to curb rent increases we will contribute heavily to excessive labor turnover in defense industries and to the spiral of rising living costs from which nobody stands to gain.

Thus far, as you know, OPACS has not had the power actually to limit rent rises. Let me review what the Consumers Division has done under the circumstances, and briefly sketch the need ahead.

BACK IN JANUARY MISS ELLIOTT, WITH the co-operation of the National Association of Housing Officials, called together a representative committee to study and report on the problem of rent control. Out of this deliberation emerged a proposal for fair rent legislation—a model bill for state consideration. This measure provides for the creation of a state rent commission with power to designate regions within the state as emergency areas, but not to blanket rent control over the entire state. It might, in fact, actually exist without imposing rent control in any area. It would be its responsibility to determine where there are unwar-

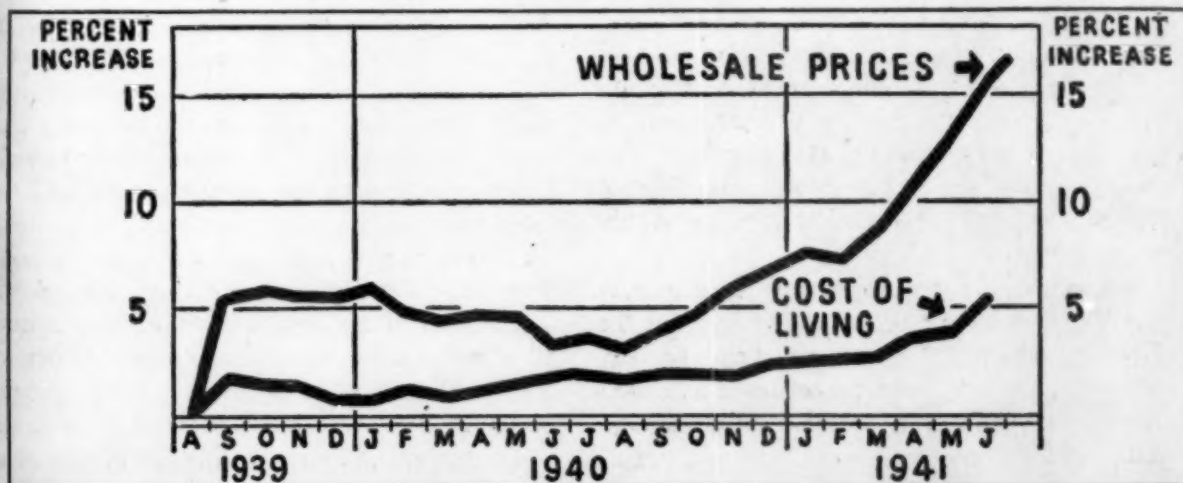
ranted rent rises in a defense area, and to declare such regions as emergency ones. Its procedure would then call for a recommendation to the Governor to appoint a regional board to impose rent control.

Although fair rent legislation has been introduced in three states, thus far no such measure has been enacted. It is doubtful whether relief can be looked to from this source in the near future inasmuch as most of the state legislatures will not convene for some time.

The Price Division of OPACS, at the request of local defense councils, is now assisting in the organization of fair rent committees, through which voluntary rent controls are being sought. These committees, composed of equal representation from landlords, tenants, and the public, publicize the facts about rent increases, call upon real estate boards for co-operation, and point out the dangers inherent in unwarranted rent increases. They set up offices to receive tenant complaints and resort to conciliation and negotiation to restore fair and reasonable rents, publicizing, when the cases warrant it, specific instances of exorbitant rental practices.

I understand that fifteen such committees are in operation today. Obviously, this is a slow approach, and one faced with the greatest difficulty, particularly in those areas where it is most needed. Voluntary control may succeed

Runaway prices threaten workers, according to figures of the U. S. Department of Labor and the National Industrial Conference Board appearing in the July, 1941, issue of **LABOR'S MONTHLY SURVEY**. Meanwhile there has been needless dallying by the committee charged with writing a price control bill, while the threat of inflation grows.



temporarily in restraining upward trends; it lacks the authority to reverse such trends. Obviously, if undue rent rises are to be curbed the authority of law will have to be invoked.

This raises the general question of the problem of price control. We are all aware of the grave inflationary dangers which beset us. Increased consumer purchasing power is beginning to place a heavy demand for goods, while at the same time military production is creating shortages in the supplies of many essential materials. It was to head off resulting danger that the President, on April 11, 1941, created the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply. You will remember at that time the Consumers Division became a part of the larger organization.

OPACS AS A WHOLE WAS GIVEN FOUR main jobs to do. It was to seek expansion in the production of consumer goods, wherever shortages of strategic materials, of skilled labor, or of plant capacity would not prevent. It was to allocate supplies of vital materials among the essential civilian needs, after military needs were provided for. And finally it was to prevent unnecessary and unjustified price increases and prevent speculation and profiteering from boosting prices.

There is no question but that the time has come for a broad and clear statutory basis for effective price control. To facilitate this purpose the Emergency Price Control Bill has been introduced in Congress. Hearings have already been started before the House Committee on Banking and Currency. Generally speaking, the Bill now being considered in Committee authorizes the President to establish maximum, or ceiling, prices for any commodities, principally on the basis of prices prevailing on July 29, 1941, with adjustments for various factors. Every determination of ceiling price will have to be accompanied by a statement of the considerations underlying it and would be subject to complete judicial review by a three-judge Emergency Court of Appeals, and by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The President might also establish maximum rent ceilings, but only in defense areas and only with respect to relatively low cost housing accommodations, the rents of which have increased 10 per cent or more since August 31, 1940. No rent ceiling could be established until

the state or local authorities were given an opportunity to remedy the situation in accordance with recommendation made by the President. Should state and local authorities fail to take the necessary action, the President might then, in these limited areas, establish rent ceilings subject to full judicial review in the same manner as commodity price ceilings.

There is no need for me to elaborate here on the dangers the bill seeks to avert. Early action on the price control legislation now pending in Congress is obviously prayed for by the vast majority of consumers who already have been alarmed by the shrinkage of their dollars.

This, in brief, summarizes the main activities of the Consumers Division during the past year. But the program of the Division will not be effective unless each individual uses his economic power wisely during the difficult months ahead, and exercises it with a view to the overall of national defense need. The present emergency requires that consumers plan and gear their buying to defense needs as well as to individual needs. It requires that citizens, through the democratic exercise of their rights, steer us from national disasters like inflation. It requires that consumers become economically literate, to know more about the goods they use and handle in their everyday life, to know how to save their own incomes from wasteful spending, and to know how to make their wishes and needs effective. The emergency requires that consumers forego their passive role as markets and take up an active role as economic citizens. No avoidable waste can be tolerated.

IN RECENT MONTHS IT HAS BECOME increasingly apparent that there will not be enough durable consumers goods to go around. Many workers who for years have lived through hardship and want, should be given the first opportunity to acquire needed equipment. Sacrifices should not be asked of the submerged one-third of a nation, who, as national income now advances, have a long awaited opportunity to share in consumption. The rest of us must be willing to make the old model do. It would be a fine tribute to the American public if voluntarily we would do without many of our material comforts which are not essential to basic living standards, that the wheels of defense might turn that much faster. If we fail to do so voluntarily, need will undoubtedly make some

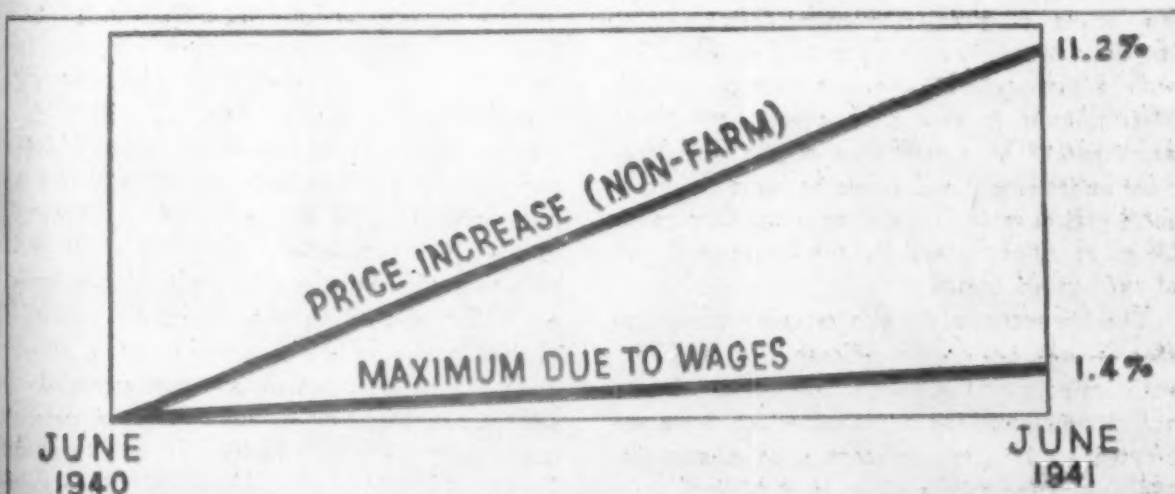
plan for rationing mandatory. The facts of shortages and priorities are upon us. We must make the best possible adjustment in the national interest and in our own interest.

Whatever action government may take against unjustified price rises and profiteering, a large part of the job of maintaining our standard of living rests with consumers themselves. We shall have to be more careful in spending our money in a market where shortages are creating high prices. We shall have to refrain from rushing to lay in a six-months' supply of a commodity when we hear some rumor that there is going to be a shortage. We must find substitutes when certain items rise in price, and not insist upon buying as before.

In all of this no group is in a better position to contribute than the educators. You play a vital role in the shaping of public opinion. Through the action of teachers alone we could have local defense consumer councils in every town in the country, helping to develop greater economic literacy in consumer action. Such councils would be challenged to apply a social yardstick to their communities and to ask: "Is our community well defended in social terms?" They could help to remove the sore spots of local oppressive labor and social conditions which threaten health, vigor, efficiency, and morale. They could stimulate and support the building of needed public housing. They could, through local action, halt many unwarranted price increases. They could help secure wider citizen participation in all this activity and thus help every man and woman to play a constructive role in the immense task ahead.

DEMOCRACY CANNOT BE STRENGTHENED from action from above. Armies alone—even the best equipped and trained armies—will not long assure its maintenance in our world of today. We can have confidence in our capacity to weather any storm only as every man and woman within our frontiers appreciates the meaning and significance of democracy in living terms and within the compass of their own lives. There is a challenge to our communities—not alone to the agencies of government. It is in our communities that we will build our defenses; not only those of our political democracy but of its economic and social equivalents. It is there that we can defend the practical opportunities our country affords to raise living standards and to enlarge the social and economic advantages of those who are still, despite our advances, economically submerged. We must build in every community instruments which will further these efforts, even in the defense period. No, not *even* in the defense period; *especially* in the defense period. Unless we do so, we may find the material defenses we build are only a second Maginot line which will not long endure. Our real power lies in the morale and fitness of our people and these, our ultimate resources, are in the keeping of our communities. Every village, town and city, has its own job to do.

Significant price increases are not due to wage increases according to this chart based on U. S. Labor Department's statistics which appeared in **LABOR'S MONTHLY SURVEY** for July, 1941. Increases due to wages are only 1.4% of the finished product—a significant fact often overlooked.



Education Under Quisling

Nils Hjelmtveit

WHEN WAR came upon Norway on the ninth of April, 1940, all school work was immediately brought to a standstill, as was to be expected. This standstill lasted for several months and affected not only the elementary schools but high schools and universities, technical and evening schools; in short, the whole educational system of Norway.

In those parts of the country first occupied by the Germans, the military authorities requisitioned all schools for use as barracks by the soldiers, just as they took over the Parliament House, the universities, the National Theatre, and other public and private buildings for their own purposes. And in the sections where the war continued to rage it was naturally impossible to keep instruction going.

After the fighting became restricted to the northern part of the country, attempts were made south of the front lines to restore life to normal conditions, and to set the educational machinery once more in motion. At first, only very rough and ready means of instruction could be employed, and throughout the period since the German invasion, schooling in Norway has remained more or less primitive.

Classes were held in private houses or wherever places could be found. Afternoon and evening instruction was resumed, even in the public schools, in spite of the nightly black-outs. In many localities even seven or eight year old children had to go to school at eight or nine o'clock at night.

These, however, were difficulties which normally follow a war. And with energy and good will they can be overcome to an unbelievable extent.

But when the Nazis began their "New Order" in the country, ever graver problems developed. For the "New Order" also included schools.

ON SEPTEMBER 25, OF LAST YEAR, Reichskommissar Terboven—Hitler's personal representative in Norway—turned over the reins of government to Quisling's microscopic party,

the so-called "National Union" party. With the help of German civil authorities, the quislings set to work. They appointed a so-called "school inspector" by the name of Jorgen Bakke. This person, who was entirely unqualified for his job, delivered a statement of policy in Drammen on November 16th of last year in which he sketched out the "New Order" for Norway's school system.

He declared that in the future there was to be no more talk of "passive neutrality" on the part of school teachers. They would either have to pledge themselves to work actively for the quisling regime or they would lose their jobs. The "inspector" then announced that the "Fuehrer-principle," according to German models, should be introduced into Norwegian schools in place of the previous democratic principles. Education boards which were made up of the most able educators in the whole country were to be replaced by special offices in the administration, each one to be directed by a "Fuehrer." Similar offices were to be set up and charged with revising textbooks—especially those dealing with history and religion.

The quisling "School Inspector" went immediately to work while the so-called "Department of Church and Education" began by demanding a declaration of loyalty to the Nazi regime from all teachers. The department sent out a circular for the teachers to sign, but they were prepared for it beforehand. The matter was taken up by the various teachers' organizations

and everyone sent in the following reply:

"With reference to the request received, I hereby declare that I shall be true to



Nils Hjelmtveit, formerly Minister of Church and Education of the Norwegian Government, whose address was read at the 25th AFT Convention in Detroit.

my profession and to my conscience, and that by reason of this I shall follow, hereafter as previously, those instructions concerning my work as a teacher which are lawfully given me by my superiors."

When this wholesale attempt to influence the teachers did not bear fruit, the quislings later tried to put pressure upon individuals. But the results were meager in spite of the fact that a large number of teachers were removed from their posts and that some of them were arrested. Among those arrested were Principal Stolz and Instructor Valeur of the Cathedral School in Bergen; President Erik Eide of the Norwegian Teachers Association; Principal Kaare Foster-voll of the Junior College in Alesund; Principal Leif Heggstad; a master named Erling Eriksen from a school in Molde; and many others. Principal Reidar Brynhildsen of the Nordstrand School near Oslo was arrested and dismissed because he refused to hang up Quisling's picture in the classrooms.

MANY OF THESE ARRESTS AND DISMISSALS took place in connection with the wave of school strikes which swept over the country during the course of the winter. These strikes were caused by the many brutal attacks made by quisling storm-troopers on different schools in Norway. The disturbance began when, shortly before Christmas, the storm-troopers carried out a "punishment raid" against the Oslo Commercial College. A violent clash took place between pupils and teachers on one hand and the storm-troopers on the other. The principal of the school, Kaare Foss, and four teachers, in addition to many pupils, had to receive medical aid after the fight. Similar affairs took place at the Hegdehaugen og Vestheim schools in Oslo, at Gimso, at Bergen, and at many other towns during the winter. A report from Norway of December 6th, told that during the course of two weeks over fifty high school pupils and teachers had been arrested.

This action of the storm-troopers instantly gave rise to measures of resistance, mainly in the form of school strikes and boycotts. Bitterness was redoubled when the school children in Oslo were required last February to visit a German "Hitler Youth Exposition." This attempted forced visit resulted in new strikes and new "punishments" by the storm-troopers. On February 7th about 150 of these troopers attacked

the Vestheim School in Oslo and beat the children with clubs. Many pupils, together with the principal and two teachers, were arrested.

The next day the school children staged a demonstration in front of the "Hitler Youth Exposition," shouting "Long live the King," and "Down with Quisling," and singing the Norwegian national anthem and the royal anthem.

Coincidental with these disturbances—of which I have given only a few examples—the Nazi "school inspector" attempted to introduce "political instruction" into the schools—to be given as part of the Nazi program. But this attempt was rejected by practically all teachers. And in the schools where the principals yielded to the demand for propaganda instruction, the pupils simply stayed away from these classes. Up to now the quislings have not been able to make any headway in this matter, while an equally strong opposition has prevented any considerable revision of textbooks. About the only thing achieved in this line was the preparation of a new catechism wherein Quisling is included in the Fourth Commandment! This textbook has been denied approval by the bishops of the Church of Norway.

Instruction in the English language has been forbidden in the public schools, while the learning of German has been made compulsory.

BESIDES THESE ATTACKS ON SCHOOLS and teachers, the Nazis have, since the 25th of September of last year, been in open conflict with the University of Oslo. But here the quislings made absolutely no progress. Students and professors alike made a firm front and threatened to go on strike if anyone interfered with their work.

The struggle between schools and universities on one side and the quislings on the other has therefore developed into a stalemate. But the fight is far from ended; it is merely one part of the greater fight which the whole Norwegian people today is carrying against the invader. It was thus not surprising that all of Norway's teachers and university associations signed the protest which forty-three outstanding Norwegian labor and professional organizations made to Reichskommissar Terboven on May 15th of this year.

One of the first steps taken by the Nazis when they came into power was to abolish municipal

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AFT Executive Council Endorses Aid to Victims of Aggression

(The following resolution was passed at the post-convention meeting of the AFT Executive Council in Detroit.)

WHEREAS, Hitler and his design for a world order under the domination of the military might of a master race is in conflict with every value for which American democracy stands and in particular is destructive of the free labor movement, of free education, and of free inquiry; and

WHEREAS, The democratic forces of the world are engaged in a struggle for simple survival with this social, political, and world system of Hitler; and

WHEREAS, The struggle of these forces, headed by Britain and her allies, against that system is necessarily and profoundly our own struggle; and

WHEREAS, Hitler having violated his pact with Stalin and having launched an attack

upon the Soviet Union has thus forced the Soviet Union into the struggle on the side of the democracies; and

WHEREAS, Victory for the democracies of Britain, Free France, and China is gravely conditioned by the ability of the Soviet armies to resist successfully the Nazi attack, even though Russian Communism is a totalitarian system deeply and uncompromisingly hostile to democratic values and purposes; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers in accordance with the declared policy of the American Federation of Labor, support the President and the Government of the United States in extending every possible aid, not only to the democracies of Britain, Free France, and China, but also the victims of Axis aggression, including the people of the Soviet Union.

MORE THAN 10,000 students and teachers of Free China signed the scroll which President Roosevelt received from Chinese Ambassador Hu Shih and James G. Blaine (right), chairman of United China Relief, in commemoration of the Chinese Republic's 30th birthday. The President expressed the hope that the United China Relief campaign, which passed the \$2,000,000 mark on the anniversary, would make Americans realize the importance of continued successful Chinese resistance against aggression for its effect throughout the world.



self-government in Norway, thus destroying one of the corner stones of Norwegian democracy. Municipal self-government was the foundation on which we had built the democratic school system we enjoyed in Norway before the German invasion.

Before the Norwegian school system can be rebuilt, or indeed before any part of our democratic government can be restored, one main thing is therefore necessary: the complete and utter defeat of Nazidom. And it is toward this goal that Norway is fighting on two fronts—at

home and abroad. Norwegian school teachers and pupils, university professors and students, are defending an important sector of the front line. They are holding this line with such courage and stubbornness that they have more than once inflicted severe ideological defeats on the representatives of the "New Order." And their magnificent morale has shown—and is daily showing—that the spirit cannot be broken by brute force, and that even in times of mechanized terror, culture is a weapon of tremendous and even decisive power.

Politics in the Schools

Walter D. Cocking

ON MAY 30, 1941, the Board of Regents of the university system of Georgia held its regular monthly meeting. One of the items of business before the regents at this meeting was to pass upon the recommendations of the Chancellor, Dr. S. V. Sanford, regarding 1941-42 personnel in all of the units which compose the university system. It should be noted that annually this list of personnel is made up from the recommendations of the presidents and heads of the various units of the system.

Upon presentation of the personnel list by the Chancellor, exception to the reappointment of Dr. Marvin S. Pittman, President of the Georgia State Teachers College, and Dr. Walter D. Cocking, Dean of the College of Education of the University of Georgia, was taken by the Governor of Georgia, the Honorable Eugene Talmadge, ex-officio a member of the regents. In the case of Walter D. Cocking, the Governor charged that he advocated social equality between the Negro and white races. The Governor stated that this charge was based upon a statement made to him by a former instructor in the College of Education faculty. The Governor was insistent that Cocking and Pittman not be reappointed. As a result the regents voted not to retain Cocking.

Later at the same meeting, the Chairman of the Board of Regents strongly protested the summary action of the Board, and also stated

that President Caldwell of the University would resign in the event that Cocking was dismissed without a hearing. As a result the Board revoked its action, and set June 16, 1941, as the date for a hearing of charges which the Governor stated had been lodged against Cocking and Pittman.

It should be noted that this was only the second meeting since the Board of Regents had been reorganized under the administration of Governor Talmadge. To the Board's membership of sixteen members, Governor Talmadge had appointed ten new members which with himself as ex-officio member made eleven of the total number of representatives appointed since the Talmadge administration took office.

On June 2, I wrote the following letter to President Caldwell:

"I have noted from the press that at the meeting of the Board of Regents of the university system held at Athens on May 30, 1941, the recommendation of my continuance for another year as Dean of the College of Education was not approved. I further note from the press that a hearing has been set for June 16th at which I am to be permitted to answer certain charges which seem to have been made against me. I am writing you to inquire if these comments in the press are correct. I also request a copy of the specific charges which have been made which I am supposed to answer. I respectfully request an answer to this letter at the earliest possible moment together with an official statement of any charges which have been made."

President Caldwell in turn transmitted this letter to the Chairman of the Board of Regents, the Honorable Sandy Beaver, with the request that I be furnished with a copy of the specific charge or charges. To this request Chairman Beaver responded on June 4, in a letter to President Caldwell:

"Replying to your letter of June 2 which enclosed one of the same date to you from Dean Walter D. Cocking—

"Mrs. Sylla W. Hamilton in a letter to the Board of Regents said she heard Dean Cocking say—in March, 1939, when outlining the policies of the College of Education—'That he wanted a school within 30 minutes' drive of Athens where students taking the Education degree could do their practice teaching. He stated that the students would teach both blacks and whites, in order to uplift the people of Georgia.'

"It was thought by a majority of the members of the Board that a program of the above kind was not appropriate in Georgia, with the result that Dean Cocking's reappointment was held up until June 16.

"I have not a copy of the minutes of the meeting before me, but it is my understanding that Dean Cocking—if he so desires—will be permitted to appear before the Board at the Capitol in Atlanta on June 16 for the purpose of refuting Mrs. Hamilton's statement and/or giving the Board his detailed views on this important matter.

"I assume that Chancellor Sanford—as the Executive Officer of our Board—will give you and Dr. Cocking an official statement in this regard."

Throughout all the subsequent series of incidents which led up to my final ousting on July 14, 1941, this was the one and only charge which was ever lodged against me.

As publicity was given to the action of the Board of Regents at its May meeting, many offers of support and statements of confidence were made to me. Among them was one from the Honorable Hatton Lovejoy, Attorney-at-Law of LaGrange, Georgia, and Past President of the University of Georgia Alumni Association. Mr. Lovejoy stated that at the hearing set by the Board of Regents he, acting upon the suggestion of a number of the past presidents of the University of Georgia Alumni Association, and the University of Georgia Corporation, would volunteer to represent the University and the Alumni Association to protect the interests of the University and endeavor to see that justice was accorded me. Mr. Lovejoy further stated that he would accept no fee or expense money for his activities in behalf

of the University and me. This offer so unselfishly made was gratefully accepted. Throughout the preparation for the hearings and at the hearings themselves Mr. Lovejoy and other representative alumni of the University gave of their time and ability unreservedly.

The meeting of the Board of Regents on June 16th was an executive session although it had previously been advertised as a public hearing. At this meeting, it was stated that the purpose was to hear charges to be brought against Walter D. Cocking. One witness and one only testified against me. This was Mrs. Sylla Hamilton, a one-time teacher in the public school operated by the University as a Demonstration School for the College of Education. Mrs. Hamilton's testimony was in this affidavit.

"In the spring of 1939 I attended a faculty meeting in the Peabody College of Education of the University of Georgia, over which Dr. Walter D. Cocking, Dean, presided. He outlined the policy of the College of Education which was to last until 1950. He had a published pamphlet covering the policies of the school until 1950. Speaking, he held the book in his hand. He did not read from it. He said that he wished to build a training school within 30 minutes' drive of Athens where graduates of the school could do their practice teaching; practice teaching being required of all graduates of the College of Education. This school, he said, was to be for both blacks and whites in order to uplift the state of Georgia. He called on several people for opinions. He turned to me and said: 'What do you think of this plan, Mrs. Hamilton?' I replied: 'That you should propose to do this thing in the State of Georgia is both astounding and amazing.'"

In reply, Walter D. Cocking denied Mrs. Hamilton's charge specifically and categorically. In addition sixteen other members of the College of Education faculty who were present at the meeting at which Mrs. Hamilton said the statements contained in her affidavit were expressed made sworn affidavits that no such statements were made, and further swore, as did ten additional members of the College of Education faculty, that at no time orally or in writing had they known the said Walter D. Cocking to express any statements of the nature charged by Mrs. Hamilton. These affidavits were presented as evidence before the regents. Also, a certified copy of the minutes of the March 10, 1939, meeting of the faculty of the College of Education was introduced as

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Louisville AFT Defends Education

NINE MONTHS ago, Louisville, Kentucky, was known in progressive circles as that backward town which twice had failed to enlist the seven teachers necessary for the formation of an American Federation of Teachers local. Today, the Louisville Federation of Teachers, Local 672, looks back with pride on a record of accomplishment and forward with confidence to a new school year. The thirty-nine signers of the original charter watched their numbers grow by tens and twenties, until, one month after the granting of the charter, 15 per cent of the city's public school teachers were enrolled. When summer vacation came, many of the leaders of existing teacher groups, as well as former leaders who had lost interest in the ineffective older organizations, had enlisted their abilities and enthusiasms with the active young local.

The spectacular progress of the Louisville local was no accident. Solidly based on democratic principles, it set out from its first meeting to work for all the teachers in the Louisville area. Building on foundations laid earlier, both white and Negro public school teachers had already formed active union-minded nuclei. County teachers and professors from the white and Negro municipal colleges joined early discussion groups. Meanwhile, the Board of Education and the city administration were busy destroying the false security which had lulled public school teachers into passivity for the past four years.

Since 1936, the Board of Education had issued contracts on the basis of a salary schedule which had been adopted without the formality of teacher approval. The schedule was a masterpiece of old-school Southern discrimination. In effect, it was three schedules: one for white women teachers, with a minimum of \$900 and a maximum for M.A. degree after 22 years of teaching of \$2600; one for white men teachers, \$200 higher than the women's scale after the third year of service; and a third for Negro teachers, identical with the white scales but 15 per cent lower, the racial discrim-

ination involved being disguised under the heading, "Class B Schools." "Class B" always included one very small slum district white school, together with the entire list of Negro schools; therefore it did not constitute a racial division. Unfair and inadequate as this schedule obviously was, it constituted the only security Louisville teachers had ever possessed and was cherished as such. Its continuance was, however, subject entirely to political whim, since the city's Board of Aldermen sets the tax rate for Louisville's public schools.

When contracts for the school year of 1940-1941 were issued, teachers of all groups were rudely awakened from their dream of security. The Board of Education had decided that the city administration would not increase the school tax rate by the necessary four cents—though the rate for city purposes had reached its constitutional limit and the school rate was 68 per cent of its maximum. The salary schedule was "suspended," with all salaries, regardless of increments due, frozen at the previous year's levels. The "suspension" operated most inequitably, for older teachers who had reached the maximum lost nothing, while some younger men took cuts of \$200 to \$250, cuts which would be repeated every year until they reached the maximum. Younger teachers were up in arms, and many of the older group, sympathetic with their colleagues and understanding that their turn might come next, joined them in protesting.

PROTESTS THROUGH EXISTING teacher organizations, however, achieved nothing; the Board of Aldermen voted in December to sustain the Board of Education's *fait accompli*, and the "suspension" stood. Schools began buzzing with talk of a teachers' union; the AFL state secretary was invited to speak to teachers' groups; and preliminary meetings of the union-minded prepared a campaign. Negro groups, already pressing a campaign for elimination of the Negro differential, were particularly active in promoting the Union, and white teachers worked in close co-operation with them from the first. The original nucleus of eight had

The following article was submitted by the Louisville Local. We are anxious to have similar reports from other locals.

grown to thirty-nine by February when the charter application was made. By March 1, when the Louisville Federation of Teachers came into official existence, plans were under way for a mass meeting, to which every teacher received a written invitation.

With nationally prominent AFT members as speakers, the meeting drew almost five hundred teachers, many of whom joined the Louisville local. Meanwhile, responding to increasing pressure from groups of women and of Negroes, who were seeking elimination of their differentials, the superintendent formed a teachers' committee, instructed to draw up a new—and presumably lower—salary schedule, which would meet the objections of city, Negroes, and women. Though the committee was hand-picked, the Union was determined that it should act in the interest of the teachers as a whole. The Union formulated an uncompromising program, based on the principle of equal pay for equal work without retrenchment. It insisted that no salary provision of the old schedule should be reduced, that Negro teachers should be placed on the schedule at the white levels without discrimination, and that salaries of women teachers should be brought up to the men's levels over a period of not less than four years.

Such a program, at first viewed askance by school and city administrations and with reserve by skeptical teachers, since it implied considerable increase in the tax rate, demanded large-scale public support. State and local AFL organizations, together with many prominent civic leaders, rallied to the Union's support. The program was pushed to a favorable vote in the superintendent's committee, despite some selfish and frightened opposition. Newspaper publicity, personal interviews with members of the Board of Education, and insistent delegations at Board meetings served to clarify the teachers' position and to express their determination, as well as to emphasize labor's support. The result was the issuance of 1941-1942 contracts embodying complete elimination of the Negro differential, initial \$50 increments for all women teachers toward elimination of their differential, and a return to the increment system of the old salary schedule.

The first round of the battle of public education's struggle against retrenchment in Louisville has been won, and Local 672 was instru-

mental in winning it. But it is only the first round. The tax rate, which must carry an additional 8c for schools, is not finally set until after the election of a new mayor and new aldermen in November. The Union, co-operating with the Board of Education, must convince the public and its elected representatives that the added appropriation is vital to the maintenance of decent standards in the city's public schools. To this end, the Union plans to enlist labor's aid in an active campaign, to interview candidates for office, to address civic clubs, to use news columns and "Point of View" space for publicity, and generally to utilize every progressive force in the city for the purpose of presenting the case of the schools to the voters.

THOUGH THE LOCAL PROBLEM MUST absorb most of the time and energy of the Union for the next few months, broader issues are not to be neglected. Thus far, Louisville's local is the only AFT affiliate in the state. However, beginnings have been made in several smaller Kentucky cities, and every effort will be exerted to establish enough state locals to form a state federation. Committees have been formed to study such state-wide problems as an adequate tenure law and a proposed amendment to the state constitution, by which the poorer counties of the state may receive a relatively larger share of the school per capita appropriation. The Louisville Union has already endorsed the amendment, and it is seeking legislative approval for a bill to free Louisville's Board of Education from city control. All three of these questions have been included in a form letter sent to candidates for the legislature, in order that commitments may be obtained before the political campaigns begin.

Louisville has made a beginning at teacher unionism, an auspicious beginning, but no more than that. The Union has not wiped out race prejudice in six months; neither has it silenced the Westbrook Pegler brand of anti-unionism in teacher ranks. But as more and more white and Negro teachers meet on common ground in defense of common democratic principles, mutual respect grows; likewise, as labor eagerly joins to fight the teachers' battles and teachers add their voices to labor councils, the old distrusts between white collar and overall begin to fade.

Louisville is still essentially a Southern town,

and its century-old prejudices do not give way easily. Local 672 knows that it will have to prove itself in many a struggle in the teachers' behalf before all of them are converted to bi-racial unionism. The Union, however, has

committed itself to democracy as the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States clearly define the term, and is determined to prove by its accomplishments that real democracy really works.

Resolutions of '41 AFL Convention

CONDEMNING the practice of reducing public school budgets as a pretext for economy during the national emergency, the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Seattle, Washington, last month, unanimously adopted a number of resolutions and special reports in behalf of education and the American Federation of Teachers. The resolutions reaffirmed the support of the AFL for federal aid to education, called for an adequate educational program for men drafted into the armed forces, and protested discriminatory practices in the vocational training program.

Participating in drafting these resolutions and in the general work of the convention were the AFT's four delegates: President George S. Counts; Secretary-Treasurer Irvin R. Kuenzli; Ira S. Turley, president, Local 1, Chicago; and Selma M. Borchardt, national legislative representative.

At the convention President Counts was elected a member of the Executive Board of the Workers Education Bureau; Secretary-Treasurer Kuenzli served as secretary of the education committee; Miss Borchardt was secretary of the committee on the Executive Council Report; and Mr. Turley was a member of the committee on the shorter work week.

The convention in a rising vote commended the AFT for its action in revoking charters of three Eastern locals. President Counts in a brief speech thanked the AFL for its assistance and pledged "to keep the American Federation of Teachers thoroughly committed to the great ideals and values of American democracy."

Following are excerpts from the Executive Council's report on education and the major resolutions adopted at the convention. One other resolution dealing with reconstruction in the post-war period will appear in full in the December issue of the *AMERICAN TEACHER*.

Executive Council Renews Support of Schools in Crisis

Education, once conceived as our great national commitment and largest single business in America, is now recognized as the very basis of our democratic

faith. The perpetuation of a free society and a free labor movement depends in increasing measure on the perpetuation of our free schools. Where the minds of men are not free, where education is not free, there can be no free society nor free labor movement. When men's minds are free and education is free then the society and its institutions will be free. Freedom is indivisible, and education the universal condition of its perpetuation.

When the very foundations of our democratic way of life are being challenged by ruthless dictatorship it is appropriate that labor which has played so important a part in the building of the public school system should reaffirm its faith in the principle of education for all and rededicate itself anew to the militant support of that principle.

An education which will vitalize the social faith of democracy will be an education in the responsibilities of the citizenship. Democracy is distinguished from autocracy in this, that in an autocracy rights are restricted to the few and duties imposed on the many, whereas in a democracy rights are shared with the many in the conviction that they will be translated into responsibilities by all the citizens. At no time in our national life has this education in civic responsibility become a more important task than at present. For the willing co-operation of a free people to secure the welfare of all is the sufficient answer to coerced regimentation of dictatorship.

Within the past year America has experienced some profound changes in the social and economic life of the nation, even before the declaration of an unlimited national emergency by the President of the United States. Dislocations wrought by the national defense program have inevitably presented new and difficult educational problems. The vast migration of workers from non-defense to defense areas has placed new and unexpected pressures upon the educational resources of these centers of defense industries; it has left behind difficult problems due to loss of populations. The burden of meeting these dislocations caused by the defense effort of the government must be met ultimately with the Federal Government. The Federal Government can and should aid state and localities in meeting these pressures on educational facilities.

The national emergency has also revealed anew the fact that to neglect the education of the citizen is to

imperil the democracy. For by his intelligent consent the processes of democratic government are carried forward. When democracy is being threatened by dictatorship we dare not fail to buttress it with education. The true defense of democratic education is in its extension. Education must be extended and equalized for all groups in all sections of the American community. The emergency has likewise disclosed that the most efficient way to provide equality of educational opportunity for all sections of America is through federal aid. The Federation believes that the emergency has thus reinforced the argument for such aid. Legislative appropriations for public education therefore should be adequate to accomplish that purpose. But in any comprehensive educational program there should be ample provision for such basic principles as security of tenure for teachers and responsible academic freedom.

Your committee therefore would urge upon the delegates to this convention that the policy of Federal aid to education as a method to remove educational inequalities be reaffirmed. We further recommend that the Federation take a firm stand in support of adequate appropriations for our schools during the national emergency. There is no declaration which

labor can make which will have a greater effect upon the America of tomorrow than the steadfast support which labor gives today for adequate support of our system of public education.

Demands Equal Opportunities to All in Vocational Training

Among the problems which have arisen in connection with the defense program is the existence of certain cases of discrimination against minority groups because of race, creed, color, or national origin. The prevalence of such conditions prompted the President of the United States to issue a statement early this summer setting forth the government's policy of non-discrimination against minority groups in all defense industries.

Difficulties that certain minority groups have faced in defense industries are their inability to secure work because of a lack of vocational training and an inability to secure such training because of the lack of employment opportunities. It has been a vicious circle which has produced some severe tensions.



AFT Delegates to the 1941 Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Seattle, Wash. Left, Selma Borchardt, national legislative representative; right, Lila Hunter, alternate delegate. Below (left to right) President George S. Counts, Secretary - Treasurer Irvin Kuenzli, and Ira S. Turley, president, Local 1, Chicago.



The United States Office of Education has issued specific instructions to prevent such discrimination in publicly supported vocational education. The Office deserves commendation for this forthright action.

There still remains certain evidence of discrimination against minority groups which is not only un-American but is in violation of the spirit of democracy.

Your committee in reaffirming its support of our system of vocational education recommends that the Federation record its conviction that all citizens should have equal access without discrimination to the vocational training program which has been set up for the defense program.

Seeks Adequate Educational Program for Army Draftees

When the Selective Service Law was passed by the Congress of the United States it was the considered judgment of most of the leaders of the Federation that under the national emergency such a law was necessary to provide adequately for the national defense and that this was the most democratic way to recruit a citizens' army. Now that nearly a million men are being trained in the Army each year it has become clear that such training is likely to be the policy of this government for some time to come—at least for five years. Already it has become recognized that the problem of morale in a citizen army can best be promoted by the active co-operation of voluntary agencies in the field of character building and recreation. Labor has wholeheartedly supported the campaign of the United Service Organization.

But a problem still remains—a sound educational program for the United States Army. A citizens' army has a special need for education in the skills of the citizen as well as military skills. The citizen soldier returns to civilian status from his service and should return better equipped physically, militarily, and civically than when he went in. There are vocational problems while in the service, and guidance and placement problems as he leaves the service. Then, too, there is the important question of morale.

The experience in the British Army has made abundantly clear that education has become necessary to preserve the intellectual alertness and morale of the men. The Canadian Government has similarly discovered that education is necessary to preserve morale as well as the mental and physical health of the soldier.

Thus far the effort for the development of a system of education within the United States Army has been makeshift in character and inadequate in its variety. Moreover the available resources of education have not been used.

Your committee strongly recommends to this convention that the President of the American Federation of Labor convey to the Secretary of War the conviction of this Federation that an adequate system of education and recreation be introduced among the

selectees of the United States Army. Your committee would further assert that any system which could be described as adequate would include a discussion of the place of labor in the institutional life of our nation. We would urge the Permanent Committee on Education of the Federation to co-operate with the War Department in the preparation of such material as it pertains to labor history.

Convention Protests Cuts in Public School Budgets

WHEREAS, The labor movement of America was largely responsible for elimination of the pauper schools which existed in the early history of the nation, and for establishing our free public school system supported by general taxation, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor throughout its entire history has taken the position that widespread public education is indispensable to successful democratic government, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its 1940 convention declared:

"The American Federation of Labor has taken the position throughout its entire history that widespread public education is essential to the successful operation of democratic government and to the very existence of a free trade union movement. Simultaneous destruction of regimentation of both the public school systems and the trade union movements of the totalitarian states have proved the soundness of this educational philosophy. The attempts in certain cities of our nation to curtail educational facilities, in the name of economy, to balance additional taxes for building the national defense, are not only unfair to the children of the nation, but also dangerous to the future welfare of democratic government." and

WHEREAS, In numerous American cities from coast to coast certain powerful organized business groups are attempting to avoid their financial responsibility of national defense by advocating cuts in school budgets—thus compelling the nation's children to pay for the defense program by sacrificing the educational opportunities to which they are entitled, and

WHEREAS, Such practices are dangerous to the very foundations of democratic society and to the very existence of a free trade union movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor meeting in Seattle, Washington, in October, 1941, emphatically protest the practice of reducing school budgets to "save" funds for defense purposes, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That state federations of labor and central labor bodies be urged carefully to watch expenditures for schools in local communities and to give all possible assistance in providing adequate revenue for the important task of educating the future citizens of the nation.

The American Federation of Labor in numerous



pronouncements has declared its unequivocal stand in favor of adequate financial support for the public schools and has expressed emphatic opposition to cutting school budgets during periods of economic depression and national emergencies. The 1936 convention of the American Federation declared:

"Every central labor union should maintain a standing committee on education which shall be responsible for advancing educational opportunities for all children. . . . It is particularly important that this committee watch that adequate appropriations are made for buildings and institutions and that the widest use be made of public school buildings. Where curtailments were made during the depression, special effort may be necessary to restore revenues and educational opportunities.

"Adequate and effective educational institutions are essential in a democratic country, and the larger the investments we make in education the more likely we are to cope with our economic and political problems

constructively. Continued and unceasing interest in and application to the task must be maintained, not only to further extend educational opportunities to every child, but to develop and improve educational facilities to keep pace with an ever-changing and advancing civilization."

The 1940 convention of the American Federation of Labor at New Orleans declared:

"Local and state labor bodies are urged, therefore, to be constantly on the alert to prevent curtailment of the educational facilities of the country, shortening of school terms, or actual closing of the schools because of retrenchment programs sponsored by well organized and highly financed pressure groups. Central labor bodies are urged to maintain active functional committees on education, carefully to study the needs of the school system, to assist in providing adequate financial support, and see that school funds are expended efficiently and effectively."

"Education Is First



The Permanent Committee on education of the American Federation of Labor in a communication under date of February 1, 1940, sent to state federations of labor and central labor bodies throughout the nation a program of education including a statement urging all affiliated bodies to assist in providing adequate school revenue in local communities and to be on guard against attempts to cut school budgets.

In October, 1940, President William Green, at the request of the Permanent Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor, conferred with President Roosevelt regarding education in the present emergency. The first recommendation of the Permanent Committee on Education to President Roosevelt was that there should be expansion of the educational facilities of the nation, rather than retrenchment during the present emergency.

We take genuine pride in stating that we believe the American Federation of Labor has done more than any other large organization or movement in

Several hundred AFT members attending a banquet in Seattle, Washington, given in honor of the four AFT delegates to the 1941 AFL convention. In attendance were delegates from each AFT local in the state of Washington. In the background are seated speakers at the banquet, which included AFT President George S. Counts and Secretary-Treasurer Irvin R. Kuenzli.

America to protect the interests of public education in the present emergency.

The committee is of the unanimous opinion that the American Federation of Labor should go on record strenuously opposing any attempt to reduce school budgets under the pretext of economy necessitated by national defense. Education is the first line of national

of Defense" - AFL

defense and as such should be extended rather than curtailed.

We therefore concur in this resolution and urge all affiliated local and state labor bodies carefully to study the needs of local school systems and to assist in providing adequate financial support for the schools.

Delegates Reaffirm Support of Federal Aid to Education

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its annual convention in 1935 requested President Roosevelt to appoint a committee to investigate the use of the federal funds for vocational education; and

WHEREAS, The President's Advisory Committee on Education, appointed pursuant to the above request of the American Federation of Labor, recommended a program of federal subsidies for both vocational and general education; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly declared its position in favor of federal aid for the purpose of equalizing the educational opportunities of the children in the several states of the nation; and

WHEREAS, The present emergency and the national defense program have emphasized the serious need for federal assistance to education in many parts of the nation; and

WHEREAS, Only limited federal funds are now available in the field of vocational education and these funds can readily be used only in the larger cities of the nation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Seattle, Washington, in October, 1941, reaffirm its traditional stand in favor of federal aid to education and urge the President and the Congress of the United States to take immediate steps to make available such federal funds as are necessary to guarantee at least a minimum standard of education to every child in the United States.

The American Federation of Labor for many years has taken an emphatic stand in favor of federal grants for the purpose of equalizing educational opportunities for the children of the nation. The part played by the American Federation of Labor in this program is well described in the following statement from the 1940 convention in New Orleans:

"For a period of more than two decades the American Federation of Labor has championed the cause of equalizing the educational facilities of the several states through federal grants for education. It was largely through the efforts of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, that the Smith-Hughes Act, providing federal aid for vocational education, was enacted by the Congress of the United States in 1917. It was largely through the influence of the American Federation of Labor that subsequent acts were passed expanding the program of vocational education provided in the Smith-Hughes Act. Recent

bills before Congress to provide federal aid to general education as well as vocational education had their origin in the 1935 convention of the American Federation of Labor which requested that the President of the United States appoint a committee to study the problem of federal aid for vocational education. The committee appointed by the President under the chairmanship of Doctor Floyd Reeves, requested and received permission from the President to expand its activities and study the whole program of federal aid for general education as well as vocational education. The Permanent Committee on Education of the AFL assisted in drafting the resultant federal aid bill which is now before Congress. Recommendation of the 1937 AFL convention designed to protect programs of vocational education existing under the Smith-Hughes Act and subsequent acts, have been incorporated in the bill. However, the American Federation of Labor did not approve certain amendments which were introduced later."

We wish again to emphasize, however, that federal aid to education does not mean federal control of education and that administration of the schools and determination of curricula should be left to the state and local communities.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends that this convention reaffirm its previous stand in favor of federal grants for public education and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the Permanent Committee on Education, and the legislative forces of the AFL be instructed actively to support legislation designed to provide such federal support.

Research Department in U. S. Office of Education Urged

WHEREAS, There exists in the United States a serious need for research in the field of public education on a national scale, and

WHEREAS, The United States Office of Education is not adequately financed at the present time to provide the personnel for this important service; and

WHEREAS, Reliable educational research can be conducted only by an authorized agency of government; and

WHEREAS, Local, state, and national labor bodies are compelled to rely upon the research services of non-union and often anti-union educational organizations, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reiterate its stand at the 1940 convention urging the Congress of the United States to provide adequate funds for a research department in the United States Office of Education; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Permanent Education Committee of the American Federation of Labor co-operate in establishing such a department when the necessary funds are available.

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Politics in the Schools

(Continued from page 14)

vidence controverting Mrs. Hamilton's charge and showing that the program proposed did not advocate such a plan as stated by Mrs. Hamilton, and that the program that was proposed was unanimously adopted. In addition, letters from the College of Education faculty, the older members of the general University faculty, the graduate students in the College of Education were presented which denied that Walter D. Cocking held or ever expressed any such views charged by Mrs. Hamilton. Also there voluntarily appeared before the Board of Regents Mr. J. R. McCain, President of Agnes Scott College; Dr. Harvey W. Cox, President of Emory University; Dr. W. H. Bocock of the College of Liberal Arts of the University and a member of the faculty for fifty-two years; Mrs. W. J. Wiley of Cordele, representing the students of the College of Education of the University of Georgia; Mr. L. D. Haskew, immediate past president of the Association of Georgia School administrators, and Mr. W. E. Knox, present president of that Association; Mr. Ralph Newman, Superintendent of Schools of Waycross, Georgia; Dr. Willis A. Sutton, Superintendent of Schools of Atlanta; and finally Dr. Harmon Caldwell, President of the University of Georgia. All of these distinguished people testified to the complete falsity of the charge and urged the Board of Regents to reappoint Walter D. Cocking to his position.

After approximately five hours had been

Left: Walter Cocking (standing) and Governor Talmadge at the Regents' hearing. Right: University of Georgia students protest against Governor Talmadge's interference in education.

consumed at the hearing, the regents by a vote of 8 to 7, and with the Chairman, Sandy Beaver, not voting, reappointed Walter D. Cocking to his position for the year beginning September 1, 1941. The official action of the Board of Regents was reported to me by the Secretary of the Board, Mr. L. R. Siebert, in a letter under date of July 9, 1941:

"The following is an excerpt of the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Regents of the university system of Georgia held in Atlanta on Monday, June 16, 1941:

"RESOLVED, That Dean Walter D. Cocking shall be and he is hereby re-elected Dean of the College of Education at the University of Georgia.

"Chairman Beaver declared the resolution to be adopted by a vote of 8 for and 7 against."

Under all rules of democratic practice and according to every principle of American jurisprudence a case having been heard and a decision rendered, it is settled. A person cannot be tried twice on the same charge, that is not in democratic America. However, such was not to be the case in this particular situation. The Governor immediately expressed his disappointment, chagrin, and disapproval of the decision rendered by a majority of the Board of Regents.

His next major move was to charge that he himself had appointed illegally three of his ten appointees on the Board of Regents, and therefore they must resign. It was interesting to note

that the three he stipulated should resign had supported me. The three regents in question refused to resign and State Attorney General, Ellis Arnall, issued an opinion repudiating the Governor's reasons for demanding the resignations.

Balked momentarily in this move, the Governor next sought the resignation of Major Clark Howell from the Board on the ground that Mr. Howell had once upon a time assured him if he ever wished his resignation he could have it. The Major resigned, accompanying his resignation with a blistering attack on the Governor for requesting it. Of course Mr. Howell had voted for my reappointment. At about the same time Judge Lucien Goodrich of Griffin whom the Governor had appointed in March to the Board and who voted against the Governor in my case, addressed a letter to the Governor in which he expressed his regret that he couldn't support the Governor in the Cocking case and added that if necessary he would resign rather than displease the Governor. Governor Talmadge immediately accepted Judge Goodrich's letter as a resignation.

The next step taken by the Governor was to declare Miller R. Bell's place on the Board of Regents vacant. Mr. Bell had been appointed in April to take the place of his father who had died. Mr. Bell's certificate of appointment stated that it was for the unexpired term of his father, ending June 30, 1941, and a full term ending June 30, 1947. The Governor now stated the appointment was only until July 1, 1941. When photostatic copies of the certificate of appointment were published, the Governor blandly admitted that he had had the copy in his office changed to read July 1, 1941. This action of the Governor in removing Mr. Bell was upheld by the now controlled Board of Regents at its meeting on July 14, 1941. In place of the three gentlemen whose removals were thus forced, the Governor appointed Mr. Scott Candler of Decatur, Mr. James Peters of Manchester, and Judge Ben Jackson of Gray. Thus the way was opened for the Governor to wreak his will.

The Governor next announced through the press that new evidence against Cocking had been located and that a new hearing on his case would, therefore, be held on July 14, 1941. It should be noted that the Board of Regents

did not determine that a new hearing on Cocking's case should be held, although legally was the only body with power to do so. One member, and an ex-officio one, assumed the authority for calling the hearing. On July 1941, I received the following letter from the Honorable Eugene Talmadge:

"The re-employment of you as Dean of the Department of Education of the University of Georgia will be reconsidered by the Board of Regents on Monday, July 14th.

"There is some additional evidence offered since the previous hearing.

"If you desire to be heard, be in the Governor's office at 10:00 A.M. on July 14th."

My reply was as follows:

"This is to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of July 7, 1941. Thank you very much."

Thus the Governor called for a second hearing. He did more. He announced repeatedly through the press that Cocking would be ousted on July 14th. Of course he would—for had the Governor forced the resignations of three regents who had supported Cocking, and had he appointed three to take their places already committed in advance against Cocking? Then did democracy in Georgia operate.

Now unfolds another interesting chapter in the scene. It began to be whispered about that Cocking would resign. A number of people (many with good intentions) urged me to resign. Among the arguments used were: "You have been re-elected, you can resign with honor"; "You will be fired on July 14th—therefore why not resign now"; "It will be better for you professionally to resign"; "It will help the University, and offset any possible action the accrediting associations might take if you are fired"; "The Governor will let the University alone if you resign"; etc. The Governor stated in the papers he was expecting my resignation. Thus the campaign went on. Then came the day when I was asked by a member of the Board of Regents to come to see him. I went. After preliminaries he suggested that I resign and told me he was sure the Board of Regents would deal handsomely with me financially if I would. He suggested a year's salary which later he changed to three months' salary. At that meeting and a subsequent one at which Mr. Hattie Lovejoy and Chancellor Sanford were also present, this regent told us that Governor Talmadge very much desired my resignation.

was said that the Governor had agreed to leave the entire operation of the university system to the Board of Regents if my resignation were secured. But all these efforts went for naught. I refused to resign. I did not resign.

At the same time and contemporary to it, information began to seep in regarding the strange and peculiar activities of one Robert F. Wood, currently an employee of the state of Georgia assigned to the revenue division but who seemed primarily to be on special duty to the Governor. Mr. Wood came to the University. He sought permission to look at the financial records in the Treasurer's office; specifically, he wanted to look at the official financial records of Walter D. Cocking. All records at the University are public records. Any interested citizen may see them. It should be noted, however, that as a result of Mr. Wood's "look" at the records, a number of them disappeared from the files, only to be put on display at the hearing on July 14th. The Treasurer's office, under date of August 7, 1941, reports that these records are still missing. However, the records in question must have been a sad disappointment to those seeking them for they were copies of requisitions made by Walter D. Cocking for supplies, equipment, travel, and other expenses for the College of Education under authorized budget items approved by the President of the University, the Chancellor, and the Board of Regents itself. Furthermore, each requisition was approved by the Treasurer before it was honored.

But Mr. Wood had more than one trick in his bag. He did other "investigating." He discovered that when the first contingent of Negroes in Clarke County was called under the terms of the Selective Draft Law, a luncheon had been given at which the local selective draft board, certain federal officials, and the Negro contingent were present. A photograph showed these Negroes leaving their homes to be enrolled in the armed forces of the nation and these white officials eating at the same table. One of the local draft officials was also a member of the University of Georgia faculty. This gentleman was told that he either could locate evidence supporting the charges against Walter D. Cocking or the picture would be used against him. A number of copies of the picture were secured by Mr. Wood. At the capital of the

state and at Statesboro and in other places as well it is reliably stated that Mr. Wood showed this picture and pointed out one of the white men in the picture and said that was Walter D. Cocking. The agents of Hitler could do no better. But the end was not yet. In the Sunday issue of the *Atlanta Constitution* for July 13, 1941, a copy of an affidavit signed by one Mr. Weatherly appeared, who stated as follows:

"On July 1, 1941, a man who said that he is Robert F. Wood and that he represented the state of Georgia came to the studio of which I am manager and asked for copies of the pictures taken of the first Volunteers for Defense for Clarke County. I sold him several dozen prints. I later learned he was using these pictures to stir up racial prejudice. This same man came back to my studio on July 8, 1941, and demanded that I sell him more prints of these pictures. I told him I regretted selling him the first prints because he was said to be using pictures of a patriotic occasion to stir racial disunity which endangers our national defense program. When I refused to sell him more prints he asked if I would superimpose the face of Dr. W. D. Cocking on the negative. I refused. He offered me \$50.00. I still refused. He asked me to put the negatives on the floor and he would pick them up. I told him that we did not intend to sell him any negatives or any more prints since he deceived us in the first place and was using the pictures to prejudice one race against another, whereas the pictures were of an event endorsed by the Selective Service Organization, state and national, to foster co-operation between the races for the defense of the nation. The man then left."

Now the Georgia Gestapo had really gone into action. More was to follow. On Sunday, July 13, 1941, the Negro servant in the home of Walter D. Cocking finally told his employer that about ten days previously he had been approached by this same Robert F. Wood and had been offered a bribe of fifty and one hundred dollars if he would steal from Cocking's home his brief-case or papers which he could use as evidence in connecting Mr. Cocking with Negro activities. Still later this same servant was taken to a tourist camp on the outskirts of the city of Athens and there behind locked doors and drawn curtains and with a pistol before him on a bureau, the Negro was subjected to an inquisition by five white men. The Negro boy recognized only one, Mr. Wood. At this meeting, held in the dark of the night, in a lonely cabin, the Negro boy, according to his own words, "scared to death," was com-

pelled to sign a statement against his employer, Walter D. Cocking. When I heard this story I immediately called the Solicitor General, Henry H. West, of the Circuit in which Clarke County is located. General West and his officers began an investigation. They secured from the Negro boy, Tommie Banks, an affidavit describing the activities of Robert F. Wood and his associates in his efforts with this Negro boy to secure evidence against Walter D. Cocking. The Solicitor General's office is still at work upon details of this case. A partial account of this affair appeared in the issue of the *Atlanta Constitution* for July 14, 1941. A total account could not be published because some of the matters contained in the affidavit were such as are forbidden publication under the laws in the United States of America. Thus did the forces of justice continue to operate in Georgia.

And now comes July 14, 1941, the day which formerly signified Bastille Day in France—day of rejoicing—a day on which a great people secured their democracy. At eleven o'clock in the morning in the House of Representatives at the Capitol of Georgia in Atlanta the so-called re-hearing on the charge against Walter D. Cocking and the hearing on the charges against Dr. Marvin S. Pittman were begun before the Board of Regents. The total membership of the Board was present. Let us summarize that membership. There remained the seven people who at the hearing on June 16 had voted against the reappointment of Walter D. Cocking. There remained five members of the original eight who on June 16 had voted to retain Walter D. Cocking. The other three had been forced from office. In their places there were new appointees of the Governor, all appointed since the hearing on June 16th.

One of the new members, the Honorable James S. Peters of Manchester, immediately took charge. He acted as prosecutor, witness, and a member of the jury. At that time I had never met the gentleman, nor had I seen him. I have not met him as yet but I have seen him in action. The hearing began with him introducing a list of people who had attended a Southern Rural Life Conference at Nashville, Tennessee, which was sponsored by the Julius Rosenwald Fund. This meeting is an annual affair and has been conducted for years. It is attended by representatives of the Negro and

white races, the conference being devoted to the problems of how to improve rural life in the South. My invitation to such a meeting and my acceptance of it was held to be a great and dastardly sin; one which certainly justified firing me from the University of Georgia regardless of the fact that other members of the faculty of the University of Georgia attended the meeting and the Chancellor of the university system and many other members of the university system and white gentlemen throughout the South were accustomed to be present. Mr. Peters then presented a book written by Dr. Edwin R. Embree, the President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund. The title of the book was *Brown America*. Walter D. Cocking should be fired from the university system of Georgia because Dr. Embree has written this book, was the line of argument used by Mr. Peters. Then followed a series of statements entirely unsupported and entirely false. One, that Walter D. Cocking was the financial representative of the Julius Rosenwald Fund in Georgia; second, that Walter D. Cocking was a member of the Executive Committee of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; third, that Walter D. Cocking was receiving a salary from the Julius Rosenwald Fund. While these statements were made, no evidence of any kind was submitted to support them, indeed there could not be any, for I am not and never have been a member of the Executive Committee of the Rosenwald Fund. I am not and have not served as their representative anywhere in the world; and I have never received one penny of salary from the Rosenwald Fund for any purpose whatsoever.

It is true, however, that the Julius Rosenwald Fund has aided education in Georgia in a handsome way. Through the years scores of school buildings have been built through use of funds granted to the state, programs of education have been aided, and better educational opportunities have been provided through funds which the Julius Rosenwald Fund has made available. At the University of Georgia during the past two years a total of \$25,000, for instance, was given by the Julius Rosenwald Fund to aid in the preparation of supervisors for the county schools of Georgia. It should be noted here for the record that the request for these funds came through formal action by the Board of Regents itself and that the funds when

granted were made payable to the Board of Regents. It is true that they were used by the College of Education at the University as the unit of the system which was charged with the duty of educating supervisors. May we say here, that the financial support rendered by the great foundations, namely the General Education Board and Julius Rosenwald Fund, have greatly aided the university system in its effort to provide a decent educational opportunity for the boys and girls and youth of the state of Georgia. Never in any of their relations with us did the representatives of either of these foundations on any occasion express any desire that the Negro and white races should be educated together or that any action should be taken contrary to Georgia laws and Georgia traditions. I am deeply sorry that the charges made by Regent Peters regarding the foundations should have been so unfair and untrue.

But Mr. Peters went on. He called Mrs. Sylla Hamilton to the stand. Mrs. Hamilton re-read the original affidavit which the Board of Regents had heard on June 16. She gave again her comments and opinion regarding it. Then the prosecution closed.

What defense could be made in such a situation? The Board already was in possession of my answer and the overwhelming evidence against the charge. The Board a month previously had voted their convictions that these charges were untrue by reappointing me to my position. The statement made by Regent Peters regarding the Julius Rosenwald Fund could not have the slightest bearing on the case even if true. But the Governor had announced again and again that Cocking would be ousted anyhow. We were going through the form of a hearing without its really being one. A "Roman holiday" was being held. I was the victim tossed to the lions. Mr. Peters, under the promptings of the Governor, was "master of ceremonies."

In reply I read a prepared statement again, categorically and specifically denying the charge as I had on June 16. Again President Caldwell emphatically denied the charge, endorsed me and my work, and insisted that I be reappointed. Again Mr. Hatton Lovejoy pointed out that there was no evidence, and this so-called hearing was a farce. Under the rules of free men there was only one possible decision for the Board to make. Was it made? No!

Without an instant's hesitation the Board voted, as it was previously announced it would vote, 10 to 5, not to reappoint me to my position. One member of the Board of Regents moved that a vote of the Board be taken on the truth of the charges themselves. It was seconded and ruled in order by the Chairman, the Honorable Sandy Beaver. But on an appeal from the decision of the Chair, the Board voted 10 to 5 that the motion was not in order. Thus did the Board relieve itself of the embarrassment of even having to take a public position on whether the charge had been proved or not.

The hearing on the case of Dr. Marvin S. Pittman was of a similar nature and the outcome was the same. By the same 10 to 5 vote he was ousted from his position.

And then, as the crowning mockery to the whole ridiculous and degrading spectacle, Regent L. W. "Chip" Robert (National Secretary of the Democratic party) pulled from his pocket a document already prepared and typed in advance and introduced it before the regents for immediate adoption. The document is so remarkable, demonstrates so completely the farcial aspect of the so-called hearing, and shows beyond shadow of a doubt the predetermined decision of Governor Talmadge's majority on the Board, that it is reprinted here in full.

"In view of the fact that there have been a great many exaggerated statements and mis-statements made and appearing recently tending to infer that the Honorable Eugene Talmadge, Governor of the state of Georgia, is trying to inject politics into the university system, the following resolution is hereby offered:

"The Board of Regents has looked into the facts in reference to the reappointment of Dr. Walter D. Cocking of the Department of Education of the University of Georgia, and Dr. Marvin S. Pittman, President of the Georgia State Teachers' College at Statesboro, Georgia. The facts show that Dr. Cocking has been interested in the operations of the Rosenwald Foundation, which has evidently, together with other ideas, influenced him to seek to have whites and Negroes admitted on the same campus within the university system of Georgia.

SEGREGATION

"The state of Georgia to the very best of their ability has amply provided for the education of the whites and the Negroes, both in public schools and in college training. The laws of the state and the traditions and customs are to keep these schools entirely separate for the best interest of both races. We, therefore, believe that any interest by way of

supplying funds or otherwise from within or without the state, tending to disturb this situation is not for the best interest of the state or its citizenship.

"The Board of Regents has looked into the charges against Dr. Marvin S. Pittman, and evidence shows that he bought and operated a farm adjoining the college farm of the state at the State Teachers' College at Statesboro, Georgia; that he worked this farm owned by himself with state employes and NYA students; that he has made or had made improvements on his farm with state funds; that he used seed and fertilizer on his farm from the state allotment. Dr. Pittman's justification for this was that he was turning over the proceeds from his farm for the benefit of the college at Statesboro.

"However true this might be, it is bad precedent, and one that the Board of Regents should not and cannot condone. If Dr. Pittman had a right to do this, then any citizen in the state of Georgia had an equal right to mix his farm with the state's farms and to improve such farm at the expense of the state.

"We have also inquired into the efforts toward the intermingling of the races which has been agitated at the Georgia State Teachers' College at Statesboro, and regret that there seems to be some positive evidence of this aggression within the Statesboro College as indicated in certain books that were being used, and as well as there having had Negro students visit on the campus of this college at Statesboro, which is strictly an institution for white students.

"The Board of Regents in view of the above circumstances does not re-employ Dr. Walter D. Cocking, nor Dr. Marvin S. Pittman.

TALMADGE THANKED

"The Board of Regents wishes further hereby to thank Regent Eugene Talmadge and the Honorable Eugene Talmadge, Governor of the State of Georgia, for the valuable assistance he has rendered to his Alma Mater and the university system of Georgia, and to the people generally of the state

of Georgia and to the generations to follow, in calling our attention to the vital matters which involve fundamental principles and traditions of the southland, and fighting for their being upheld for the welfare of both the white and Negro races and their future successful progress.

"The Board of Regents wishes also to thank Mrs. Sylla B. Hamilton for her courage for very properly calling this matter to the attention of Governor Eugene Talmadge to enable him to bring it before the board of regents of the university system of Georgia.

"The Board of Regents orders that copies of the above be furnished for the press so that it may have the opportunity to give equal publicity to this document so as to present all phases of this controversy to the public in fairness to all concerned."

Thus was justice accorded in Georgia on Bastille Day, July 14, 1941. Thus did a Governor of a great American state obtain his way. Thus was a great university system raped, thus were the educational opportunities of the boys and girls and youth of Georgia placed in jeopardy in order that the will of one man might be confirmed and his political fortunes (he hoped) enhanced.

One final word. Walter D. Cocking and Dr. Marvin S. Pittman have been removed from the university system of Georgia. After September 1, 1941, they will no longer be connected with it. Their fortunes are immaterial. They are only two men endeavoring to make a living and to follow their vocation. However, Georgia, its young people, and its university system continue on. What of the future? Has the Governor and his Board of Regents by the action that was taken increased the stature and possibilities of good of the university system and of the state? Has even the Governor's own personal political fortunes been improved? The answer is not available at the present. But from Tybee's beach to the mountains of northwest Georgia there is a growing, growing sound of the voices of the people expressed in the press, on the sidewalks, in the fields, in places of business, and in the homes of Georgians everywhere, a sound which becoming articulate says a great injustice has been done; fair play and decency have not been used; the educational opportunity of our young people has been placed in jeopardy; the fair name of Georgia has been dragged in the dust. The reason—to satisfy the selfish ends of one man in whom we the people had placed our trust, and whom we had made the first citizen of our state.

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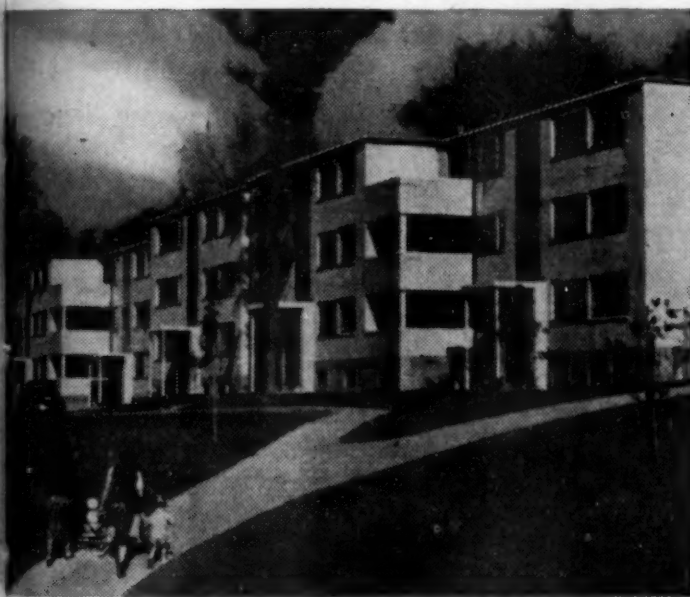
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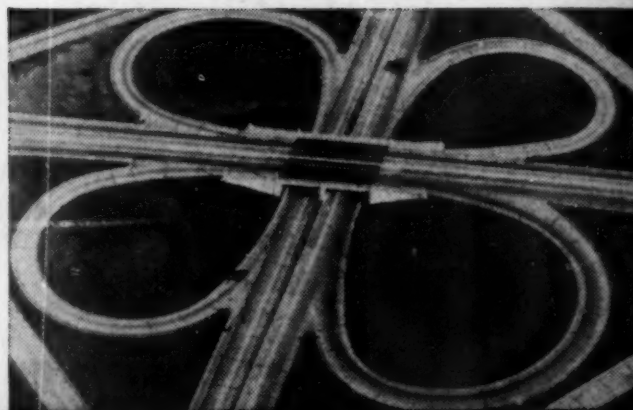


CARRYING a lesson in action, these scenes from "The Co-Ops are Coming," show the progress of midwestern co-operatives. Among the practical gains made thus far by co-ops in that area are a department store, stream-lined food stores, a paint and varnish factory, a hatchery, gasoline stations, tank cars, a coffee roasting plant . . . and even an oil well and refinery. In technicolor, this 16 mm film is rented by the Co-Op League, 167 W. 12 St., New York. Harmon Foundation co-sponsored production.

"The City"—A Problem in Planning



"THE CITY," a 16 mm sound film, from which these scenes are taken, presents urban problems. It traces the development of communities: the New England village; the impact of industrialization; mushrooming of cities and consequent congestion; the solution, which is planning for home and industry, for children and adults—resulting from conscious social use of science and engineering for healthful and rational living. Available from the College Film Center, Chicago, for school and group showings.



★ ★ ★ this month's movie digest



On the Labor Front

NET PROFITS OF 808 INDUSTRIAL, commercial and public utility companies in the first half of 1941 were 33 per cent above the same period last year, the Department of Labor reported here in its monthly *Labor Information Bulletin*.

Profits of these companies were nearly four times as large this year as in 1938, it was reported, and about 13 per cent greater than during the first six months of the boom year of 1937.

"Practically all groups of industries reported larger profits in the first half of 1941," the bulletin said. "Nineteen textile and apparel companies, included in the sample compiled by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York City, doubled, and six rubber and tire companies and eight heating and plumbing firms almost doubled their last year's earnings.

"Other large profit increases were registered in iron and steel, electrical equipment, auto parts and accessories and aircraft manufacturing.

"Class I railroads had a net income of approximately \$170,000,000 in the first six months of this year as against a deficit of \$9,100,000 in the comparable period of 1940."

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THE AVERAGE AMERICAN

family spent only \$2.27 per person per week for food or a little over 10 cents per meal per person, it was revealed recently by the National Resources Planning Board in a study of family expenditures in the U.S. in 1935-36.

The 7,350,000 families in the lowest income group, those with incomes of less than \$710 a year and constituting one-fourth of all the families, had an average income of \$440 a year which was \$27 less than the amount spent

by the average family for food alone.

Striking contrasts were presented in food expenditures by families in different income classes. Families in the \$750 to \$1000 a year income group spent \$300 a year for food while families in the \$2,500 to \$3,000 a year group spent more than double that or \$619 a year for food.

Expenditures for housing showed virtually the same trend though the climb was steeper. Families with incomes between \$750 and \$1000 a year spent \$161 for housing, or a little over \$13 a month, while families in the \$2,500 to \$3,000 range spent \$404 for housing, or about \$33.60 a month.

The average income of all 29,400,000 families was \$1,622. Food claimed 29 per cent of this amount, or \$467, while housing expenditures came to \$248 for the year and household operations and furnishing amounted to \$209.

The average family clothing bill was \$141 while \$54 was spent on the purchase of new and used family cars and \$60 went for automobile operation. Medical care took \$64, recreation \$41, barber services and other personal care, \$28, and tobacco, \$26.

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THE NATION'S THREE BIG-

gest tobacco companies, one subsidiary and 13 company officials were convicted Oct. 27 by a U.S. district court jury on charges of monopoly and price-fixing in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law.

The big three companies are the American Tobacco Co. (Lucky Strikes), the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. (Camels), and the Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co. (Chesterfields). The ruling also affects five other tobacco firms which withdrew before the trial started and agreed to accept "any penalties involved if a guilty decision results."

The conviction indicated that the jury "thought the nation's tobacco farmers had been getting too little for their tobacco as a result of this conspiracy," commented Assistant U.S. Attorney General Edward H. Miller.

If upheld and strictly enforced, the decision would also mean lower cigaret prices to the consumer. The big firms have been doing their best to squeeze out companies which sell 10 cent cigarets.

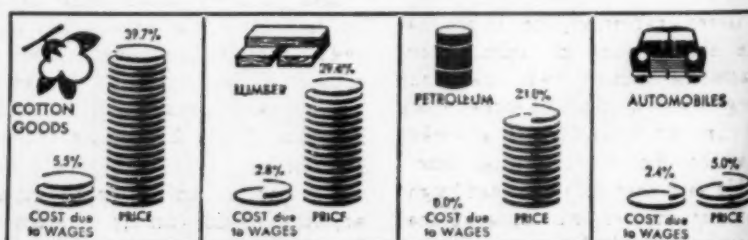
★ ★ ★

CLOSED SHOP CONTRACTS

have been highly beneficial to industry as well as labor, Rev. Jerome L. Toner, a member of the faculty of St. Martin's College, concluded after an eight-year study conducted under the auspices of Catholic University.

Father Toner's findings, published by the American Council on Public Affairs, reviewed the history of closed shop contracts and concluded that most of the opposition to such contracts has come from employer associations rather than individual employers.

He noted that many employers used the closed shop as a means of compelling employees to join



While prices rose 13½ per cent this year, wage increases added only 2 per cent to manufacturing costs, AFL economists report in the October issue of *Labor's Monthly Survey*. Piles of coins in this chart show the big gap between price increases and wage rises for typical commodities.

company unions and "many of those who use the closed shop to frustrate genuine labor organization frown on it when they are asked to incorporate it into a standard union contract."

Other conclusions reached by the study are:

1. Approximately 3,000,000 workers are covered by closed shop contracts.

2. Closed shop conditions are dominant in the coal, clothing, printing trades, building trades, brewery, motion picture, metal and glass industries.

3. Labor relations are considerably smoother as the result of the closed shop.

4. Unions have demonstrated genuine responsibility under closed shop contracts and have contributed substantially to the improvement of production.

5. The closed shop will probably be the rule rather than the exception within the next 10 years.

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ORGANIZED LABOR IS IN-

sistently demanding that government orders for defense items be allocated to small manufacturing plants, AFL Pres. William Green declared in a signed editorial appearing in the AFL's official publication, the *American Federationist*.

"Labor demands that this course be followed as a matter of fundamental justice," he declared.

Pointing out that small business firms collectively employ more workers than the large corporations, Green warned that "a larger number of machine tools, important factory spaces, and millions of workers face long idleness unless the policy of spreading defense production is made to work effectively."

Green expressed the hope that the new division of defense contracts distribution "will make the long expected effort to spread work so that not a machine or a worker shall be idle in this critical time."

He said that such a spread might increase the cost but declared that costs are "of little consequence in comparison with the securing of quantity production in time for military effectiveness and the preservation of national morale by the



President William Green, of the American Federation of Labor, congratulates members of Local 400, Waitresses Union at the Hotel Olympic, headquarters of the sixty-first AFL convention in Seattle, on setting up a voluntary pay roll allotment plan for purchase of Defense Savings Bonds and Stamps. Such aid to national defense by all AFL members was unanimously endorsed by the convention.

prevention of widespread unemployment."

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A UNIQUE TYPE OF AGREEMENT, barring jurisdictional raids on each other, has been signed between Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL), and Local 1224, United Electrical Radio & Machine Workers (CIO).

The contract covers the electrical appliance and fixture industry. Under its terms each union agrees not to intrude in a plant where the other is conducting an active organizing drive, not to sign any back-door contracts, and not to sign

contracts providing wage scales lower than those existing in union shops.

In the event a jurisdictional dispute cannot be settled between the two unions, it will be submitted to Mrs. Ethel S. Epstein, labor secretary to Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, and her decision will be final.

The formula was worked out during mediation of a recent dispute between the two unions at the Gem Electric Co. In this case, the AFL union called a strike after the CIO had signed a contract. Putting the new formula into effect immediately, the IBEW called off its strike against Gem.

Teachers Union in Action

(Continued from page 2)

committee from this group appeared before the board in support of the request. An attorney who is retained by the Central Labor body and who attends all School Board meetings also added support to the cause.

In making the appeal for an increase in salary the following contentions were presented: (1) that the increased cost of living warranted an increase in salary; (2) that people engaged in industry were securing increases; (3) that the payment of adequate salaries was necessary to maintain a well trained teaching force; (4) that education in and for democracy could not be curtailed in these trying days; (5) that we should try to make the school system superior by being able to attract well trained people to direct the young citizens of our community; and (6) that the education of children should be the best that the community can afford.

The action of the School Board can be construed as the reward for three years of persistent effort on the part of the Federation to secure full salaries for teachers. The precarious financial condition of Superior has consistently been cited as the reason for the inability of the Board to pay scheduled salaries. Comparisons with other cities of comparable size in the state have been made in an attempt to curtail school expenditures. This policy has made it difficult for the union to sell the ideology of education to the citizens when its opponents are concerned only with financial sheets. However, the Board action indicates that some progress has been made.

The effort to restore salaries is just half won. The 1941 legislature of Wisconsin enacted into law the Thompson Bill which required that public hearings must be held on all budgets. The Superior city attorney has given an opinion to the effect that the city council, and not the school board will conduct the hearing on the school board budget. The

next step will be to defend the budget before the city council. With the combined support of organized labor, teacher organizations, PTA, and other friends of education the local is confident that the city council will approve the school budget as it has been set up by the Board of Education.

The Superior Federation of Teachers realized another objective this year when the school board approved and adopted an accumulative sick leave policy for teachers. The organization proposed an accumulative sick leave policy three years ago, but the plan was rejected. Continued effort on the part of union members stimulated others to encourage the enactment of such a policy, and with this aid they were successful in securing the enactment of an accumulative sick leave policy.

The Teachers Federation has been instrumental in organizing the teachers, firemen, policemen, city truck drivers, custodians, and other city employees who belong to organized labor, to unite and present a solid front when making requests of the city government. As a result they act not as single units but rather as an organized group of city employees backed by organized labor. Upon the insistence of this group the Superior Federation of Labor has retained an attorney to help all unions in their dealings with the city. Our legal counsel attends all city council, school board, and county board meetings as the official representative of organized labor. Thus labor, as well as economy groups, has intelligent representation at the budget hearings of these various governmental bodies.

606 YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

—Local 606 has been instrumental in planning for an AFT regional meeting to be held at Oxford, Ohio, with participants drawn from college and university membership at Wilberforce University, Miami University, Antioch College, and the educational institutions at Cincinnati and Columbus.

The most important business considered at the Executive Committee Meeting of the Ohio Federation of Teachers, held September 20, at Columbus, was the new tenure law. It is likely that certain "strong" parts of this law (married women, age of retirement, cause for dismissal) will come up for ruling in the courts. The Executive Committee agreed that the OFT should support all teachers, whether Union members or not, who are made principals in such cases, and that a fund should be built up for such defense.

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497 MISSOULA, MONT.—

Two members of the Montana University Teachers Union spoke at Labor Day celebrations: E. A. Atkinson at Butte, Montana, and Michael Mansfield at Libby, Montana. Both speakers stressed the part played by labor in the preservation of democracy.

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663 SAGINAW, MICH.—

Contracts were issued to public school teachers recently without the anticipated increases in salaries. Requests made by the Saginaw Federation of Teachers for changes in contract form and recognition of a teachers' committee were ignored in the belated agreements.

Some teachers received raises, but these were unusually low compared to advancing prices and wages in industry. Many teachers received no raises. Among these were the hundred or more who work on a substitute basis and who did not receive definite appointments until schools opened in September.

Send in Your Local
News Items Today

Asked how teachers would cope with rising living costs, Mr. R. L. Vanderveer, President of the SFT, said those with dependents would probably seek part-time employment in private business or industry. However, the teachers will do their best in the classrooms, knowing that their low salaries cannot be blamed on the pupils. Many of Saginaw's better teachers may not return.

The Board of Education has at various times expressed its desire to pay better salaries. Now it claims that the low tax millage under which it is forced to operate will not allow higher salaries. Over half of the money in Saginaw comes from the state.

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653 ST. JOSEPH, MO.—The St. Joseph Federation of Teachers has put out an attractive booklet called "Information Please" containing a comprehensive summary of the local education situation, together with a section on labor and public education, made up of a resume of the resolutions on education adopted by the AFL since 1885.

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460 EVANSTON, ILL.—At a recent IEA Union luncheon twenty members of Local 460, twelve of the Waukegan, Illinois, Local, and five visitors heard Kermit Eby, Executive Secretary of the Chicago Teachers Union, tell of the problems Chicago teachers are facing following the decline of thousands in their school population since 1932.

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571 CICERO, ILL.—According to number two, volume one, of *Cicero Flashes*, publication of the Cicero Chapter of the West Suburban Teachers Union, Local 571 will sponsor four forum programs this year. Louis Adamic and J. T. Whitaker are the speakers on the first two programs.

The importance of teachers attending the monthly meetings of the school board has been stressed by the Union, some members of which have volunteered to serve on the Board Relations Committee which automatically goes to all school board meetings.

A tentative program of action for the Local is sketched in the current

issue of *Cicero Flashes*, stress being laid on national defense, child welfare, community service, tenure laws, taxation, and school finance. Various problems facing teachers are presented in that same issue in the departmental "Question Box": the advisability of requesting a blanket raise; revision of the sick leave clause in the school contracts; the possibility of contracts being made so as to allow for salaries being kept on a par with increasing cost of living.

★ ★ ★
508 ST. LOUIS COUNTY, MINN.—The county board of education has turned down a request of AFL teachers in the rural schools for pay increases next year because of increased living costs.

There may be some justification for the small concession in wages made because of the limit in tax funds on which the county board of education has to operate. But increased living costs create a problem for the teacher as well.

The only raises granted were for \$45 a year to 38 out of 49 high school teachers, \$45 a year to 48 out of 88 grade teachers, \$50 a year to 5 out of 10 home economics instructors for a total of \$4,500 a year.

This was the regular raise that these teachers would receive under the county wage classification and has nothing to do with the problem of living costs. About 70 instructors received no increase.

Wages for teachers in the rural area are none too high. The scales, for instance, are: High school, \$972 to \$1,332; grades, \$810 to \$1,170; home economics, \$1,200 minimum; agricultural, \$1,740 minimum for a 12-month work year; principals, \$1,800 maximum.

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430 LOS ANGELES, CALIF.—Members of the local sponsored a dinner and panel forum on the subject "While the World Watches," on October 17, during the teachers' institute.

Carey McWilliams, chief of the California Division of Immigration and Housing, Ralph Beals, professor of anthropology at U.C.L.A., and John Cohee, author of the Los Angeles *Daily News* "War Summary," spoke.

Did You Know That ?

Dr. Floyd Reeves who served as Chairman of President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education, was appointed Educational Director in the Office of Production Management and served in that position for several months? Recently Dr. Reeves resigned from this position and resumed his duties as Director of the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education.

Dr. George S. Counts was a member of a national steering committee of thirteen members representing some forty teachers' organizations which is to serve in an advisory capacity in all government matters related to education and the national defense?

Ralph Marshall of the West Suburban Local No. 571, is now serving as a member of the staff of the Wages and Hours Division in the state of Illinois?

Mrs. Doris Lackey, a member of Local 4 of Gary Indiana, was appointed a member of the State Board of Education of Indiana for a period of four years?

Dorothy Kellar, president of Local No. 601, Springfield, Illinois, was recently appointed to the position of State Supervisor of Home Economics for the State of Illinois?

In Kenosha, Wisconsin, Leroy Wolfe of the Kenosha Local was elected to the position of City Manager for the city of Kenosha?

Russell V. Ziegler, teacher in Short Ridge High School, Indianapolis, was appointed by Judge Earl R. Cox of the Circuit Court to the position of member of the County Tax Adjustment Board? Mr. Ziegler was recommended for this appointment by the Central Labor Union of the city of Indianapolis.

Vernon Siegler of Local 511 (East Chicago) is serving as a member of the County Tax Adjustment Board of the state of Indiana?

Detroit Seeks Wage Increase

231 DETROIT, MICH.—The Detroit Federation of Teachers laid before the Board of Education a request for wage increases for Detroit school teachers and pointed to the rapidly rising costs of living as ample reason for granting the requested boosts.

Frances Comfort, vice-president of the DFT, pointed out to the board members that department heads will soon make preliminary studies of needs for the coming year of 1942-43, the period for which the organization had previously made requests of wage hikes.

In its formal request for the increases, Miss Comfort said:

"On June 11, 1941, the Detroit Federation of Teachers directed the attention of your honorable body to the need for upward revision of the teachers' salary schedule. Aware that funds for this purpose were not available in the current budget, we asked at that time only that the Board go on record in favor of salary increases and set aside a time to consider general upward revision of salary rates for inclusion in the 1942-43 budget." With the latter request the Board indicated general agreement.

"Since the season approaches when department heads make preliminary studies of needs for the coming year, we should like at this time to renew our request to meet with the Board or its appropriate committee on the subject of salary increases.

"The members of your honorable body are of course aware how steeply living costs have risen in this area—and concerned as they always are with the welfare of school employees — have doubtless noted that nearly all groups of employees, whether in public or private employ, have received very substantial pay-raises during the past eighteen months. It is apparent, too, that salaries deemed adequate 20 years ago, when the present schedule was adopted, are simply not enough in 1941. At a time when civilian morale is the object of concerted effort on a national

scale, teachers have a right to feel that their important contribution to the defense of democracy is valued by the community they serve.

"Teachers feel that conditions call for a 15 per cent blanket increase in pay or its equivalent. Less costly than a percentage increase but probably more beneficial to morale and professional standards, would be elimination of inequities in the present schedule.

"Accordingly, we should like to ask your honorable body to consider the following revision:

"(1) raising the minimum salary from \$1400 to \$1700, as a figure comparable with that paid in other branches of professional service;

"(2) raising the maximum salary from \$2800 to \$3500;

"(3) establishment of a single salary schedule; that is, equal pay for equal training and experience;

"(4) shortening the new salary schedule to double the present annual increments, beginning with the year 1942-43.

"Details and costs of this, and alternative proposals, are now be-

ing studied by the Research Committee of the Federation. We should appreciate your setting a date on which we may present our information with an opportunity for your Body to give the whole salary question your careful consideration."

In commenting on the wage boost request, DFT officials said:

"If the move for salary increase is to be successful, teachers must support the effort in every way possible and allow no ill-considered act or deluded individual to misrepresent their interests in this matter.

"The single salary schedule, advanced by the Federation since inception, has lately been endorsed by the Council for Professional Improvement as a solution to many problems hinging on promotion.

"Annual increments under the present schedule are too small. It is absurd that, after one to five years of substitute teaching, eight to twelve years more should elapse before a teacher achieves an income comparable with a bricklayer's or electrician's. Other city employees reach maximum salaries in two to five years. Policemen attain salaries of \$2640 nominally in

Four Leaders of AFT Locals Die

Ulysses F. Hughes, 55, supervisor of national defense training and head of the vocational training classes in the schools of Springfield, Ohio, died at his home on October 26. He was a former president of Local 296. In his supervisory post, he was responsible for the training and placement of workers in defense industries, more than 700 men having been assigned as a result of his program.

Miss Iva Crowley, a member of Butte, Montana, Teachers' Union died recently. Her death was fittingly memorialized in a resolution by Local 332.

The Minneapolis Federation of Teachers, Local 59, lost one of its most progressive and conscientious workers in the death of Sara Neprude on August 16. She was a frequent delegate to the Central Labor Union

and attended state conventions of the AFL. She was the first secretary-treasurer of the State Federation of Teachers and served on four occasions as delegate to the AFT national convention. Elected president of Local 59 in 1940, she was prevented by ill health from assuming office.

On September 4, two days after his resignation from the presidency of Local 606 (Antioch College and Yellow Springs, O.) occurred the death of Paul Jones, college pastor. He served ten years as Executive Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. For years he was state chairman of the Socialist party and was its candidate for governor last year. Herman Schnurer, a delegate to the 1940 and 1941 AFT national conventions, has replaced Mr. Jones as president of the Antioch Union.

two years and we surely do not think them overpaid.

"Another bad feature of the long schedule is that withholding a single step affects so many teachers for so many years. The Federation declared in favor of shortening the schedule in 1937, after several annual struggles to save the increments.

"Under the proposals advanced by the Federation, as set forth in the letter, every teacher would receive a substantial increase in pay for the coming year (over what the present schedule provides); and an adequate maximum of \$3500 would be attainable within the next few years.

"These proposals are reasonable and possible. The problem is to see that saboteurs within the ranks do not falsify the teachers' viewpoint. The Board of Education is sincerely interested in the welfare of its employees but wants to be sure that proposals for improvement of the teachers' status carry majority support. For this reason, the Federation solicits the membership of every teacher in the school system before the salary question is finally settled. It wants to be able to show that teachers believe present salaries are too low, whatever alleged representatives of other organizations may say."

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Irvin R. Kuenzli, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFT, Mark Starr, Vice-President of the AFT and adviser to its committee on WPA, and George H. Hammersmith, formerly Executive Secretary of the Toledo, Ohio, Federation of Teachers, are to be discussion leaders at a Friday afternoon seminar on "Labor Unions and the Teaching of Social Studies," conducted by Dr. Howard E. Wilson of Harvard University at the 21st annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies of the National Education Association, to be held at Indianapolis, Indiana, November 20-22.

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Delegates of the member locals of the California State Federation of Teachers will hold their annual convention at the Motel Inn at Bakersfield, November 21 and 22. The

work of the convention will center around the problem of unity in the defense of democratic education.

Preliminary planning has been carried on by a committee composed of Eldred Nelson (East Bay), L. S. Gerlough (San Francisco), and Irene Willoughby (Palo Alto). Joel Berreman, president of the state fed-

eration, sat in as ex-officio member on committee meetings. A dinner and open meeting will be held on November 21. The discussion will be held on the central theme of the convention, and the main speaker will be E. R. Hilgard, professor of psychology at Stanford University and member of Local 442.

What Labor Means to Me

By LeRoy Wolfe, Kenosha City Manager

Former President, Kenosha Teachers Union

My first conscious thoughts about union labor came to me as a child of six, when in our town two glass factories developed tension over union and non-union labor policies. An older brother worked in one of these plants so his hopes, fears, and experiences became Arabian tales to me.

The next experience came as a result of conditions in our educational system. Gross inequalities existed where all factors were similar except length of service. A minority group of teachers had struggled for some five years to correct the problem which affected the morale of all. Working through the local educational association had proved futile. This informal committee then changed its thinking and decided that within our own personalities lay the solution. We cast about for all means of support and very soon came to believe that laboring people were our principal patrons and that we must work with them and for their educational development.

Once having accepted this thesis, the line of conduct was evident. We made contact with *every arm of the local labor movement*. We joined forces with other city employees; contacted the labor press; joined ranks in their political discussions; became a member of the trades and labor council and by attending their sessions and meetings learned to know labor leaders and men by their first names. They became acquainted with us and got confidence in our judgment. But, above all, we developed a superb strategy committee which met every new problem with intelligence and precision.

The fruits of this experience have been primarily in actually becoming a part of the living, moving, struggling community. Fifteen years of teaching had found me a pedagogue but not a vital part of our community. Now we know and are known by hundreds of parents and their children. There is this discovery, too, that members of unions are just as intelligent and alert to their problems as are educators. They have their loyalties and philosophies, and above all they are pragmatic.

As an individual teacher, I have had a new world open up to me. It is a world of maturity and action. I am no longer a god, but must now rub elbows with people of my own stature. They have turned out to be much larger and more capable than might be surmised. Every wit I have must be on tap to show I am an equal.

The Kenosha Teachers Union has been a tremendous aid in equalizing our educators' working conditions. It has a job of saving the schools for the children and posterity. It has released the average teacher from nonentity to a mature place in the community.



557 KENOSHA, WIS.—“There'll be some changes made”

was the theme song of the campaign waged by organized labor last April to elect a labor majority to the school board and city council. Following labor's victory, a local tenure rule was introduced in July under the title “Resolution to Define Teacher Status,” with security in the job provided after a two-year probationary period, and followed by automatic retirement at the age of sixty-five.

Final action on the resolution was postponed so that a committee representing the school board, the Union and the KEA might consider its provisions. The resolution will probably be passed this month.

At its September meeting the board abolished the position of director of methods and curriculum, the duties of that office being transferred to the superintendent. To relieve the latter of some of his responsibilities, an assistant superintendent was appointed, his duties being primarily those connected with personnel and finance. J. R. Redstrom, member of KTU, vice-president of the Wisconsin State Federation of Teachers, and principal of McKinley Junior High School, was appointed to this new post. In a statement to the people of Kenosha, Mr. Redstrom said: “As a member of organized labor, I shall always work to safeguard the interests of the common man.”

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CHICAGO, ILL.—Mable P. Simpson, Executive Secretary of the Citizens School Committee, was killed in an automobile accident on August 22. John M. Fewkes, national vice-president of the AFT, was chairman of the committee in charge of a commemorative service held for her on October 5.

Professor W. J. Graham of the University of Chicago has consented to estimate the income tax payments for teachers on the various salary schedules.

The Chicago Teachers Union was represented at the Illinois State Federation of Labor meeting at Danville, September 15-20, by President Ira Turley, John M. Fewkes, Lillian Herstein, Helen Narbut, Olga Polerecky, and Martha Raymoth. Several of these delegates

Wisconsin Holds Convention

The annual convention of the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers was held in Milwaukee, November 6-7. Herman Seide, president of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor; Miss Mary McGough, AFT vice-president for the Wisconsin-Minnesota area; and Leroy Wolfe, new city manager of Kenosha, have been invited to participate in the convention and will be guests at the convention dinner. It is expected that much of the work of the convention this fall will center around organization work in Wisconsin.

Program headliners include the following persons:

Professor Gordon Skilling, who was in Czechoslovakia at the time of the Munich Pact and who is now at the University of Wisconsin. His topic will be “Central Europe After Munich.”

Dr. Arthur Hoff, president of the LaCrosse local; Mrs. Luvella K. Reschke, vice-principal of Peckham Junior High School, Milwaukee; and J. R. Cotton, Milwaukee State Teachers College, who will discuss various aspects of the problem of “Wisconsin Education and the Economic Crisis.”

Dr. Hoff, who has made quite a study of the state retirement fund, will discuss “The Effects of Changing Economic Conditions on Retirement.” Mrs. Reschke's subject is “Child Welfare in Terms of Dollars and Cents,” while Dr. Cotton will discuss “Teacher Salaries and the Rise in Living Costs.”

participated actively in the committee work of the convention.

Charlotte Russell, former secretary of the Chicago Teachers Union and long a prominent figure in educational circles in Chicago, retired from teaching on September 15. In appreciation of her work the Executive Board of the Union held a

party in her honor on September 22.

The Teachers Credit Union is starting a membership drive to enroll every Union teacher. At present 3,000 teachers belong to the Credit Union, which has assets amounting to \$600,000; a 100 per cent enrollment would mean 8,000 members and \$1,600,000 in assets!

Wage Restoration Demanded

Minneapolis, Minn.—Backed by the Central Labor Union, AFT Locals 59 and 238 and other school employees are demanding that the Board of Education rescind 15 per cent wage kickbacks which have cost the employees \$1,000,000 a year for ten years. In waging their campaign 1500 teachers and other workers descended upon city hall in a body to call for restoration of normal wages. Speakers pointed out that with the cost of living up 15 per cent already, city employees may be forced to work for about half of their real wages.

In support of this movement, the Minnesota Federation of College Teachers, at its meeting on October 20, adopted the following resolution: WHEREAS, Education is essential to the defense of democracy particularly at a time when democracy is under dangerous attack from enemies at home and abroad; and

WHEREAS, The teachers of Minneapolis have rendered faithful service in preserving the democratic tradition in American education, in spite of decreases in the salaries provided for by their contracts; and WHEREAS, A further cut is impending at a time when living costs are soaring; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Minnesota Federation of College Teachers, Local 444, support Local 59, Local 238 and all the teachers in Minneapolis in their demand for the full salary of their contracts, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Minneapolis School Board.

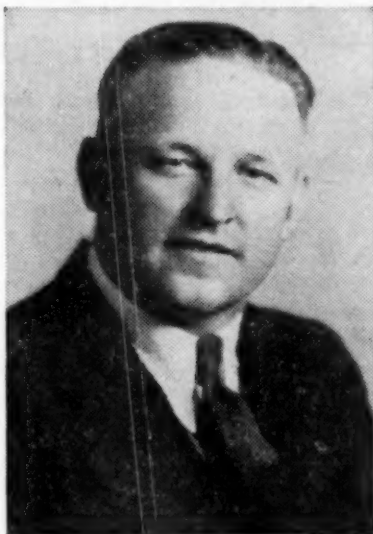
LEE E. GEYER

Lee E. Geyer, for two years President of the Los Angeles Federation of Teachers, Local 430, and a member of the United States House of Representatives (D) from the 17th Congressional District, died at the Walter Reed Hospital, Washington, D. C.

He was born at Wetmore, Kansas, September 9, 1888. In 1920 he married Nellie L. Cordts of Overbrook, Kansas, and leaves besides his widow, two sons, Robert Lee, 17, and John, 13. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Baker University at Baldwin City, Kansas, and took graduate courses at the Universities of Wisconsin and Southern California. He was an instructor in high schools at Hamlin and Corning, Kansas, and Duncan, Arizona; and taught social science at Gardena in the Los Angeles system, from 1927 to 1938.

He entered politics in 1934, at the time that Upton Sinclair ran for Governor of California, and was elected to the State Assembly from the 67th District. He served the people of his district very ably for two terms from 1934 to 1938, when he ran for Congress, and was elected from the 17th District of California. He served in the 76th Congress and was re-elected in 1940 to the 77th Congress.

Geyer was truly a representative of his district, for he did things that no other congressman from California, as far as my knowledge goes, has ever done. Each month he sent out a mimeographed letter to some thirty-five thousand of his constituents telling how he voted on important bills, and what legislation was coming up which should be studied. Before the Lend-Lease bill came to vote, he sent a letter asking his constituents to send in a card telling him how we would vote to have him vote. The next month, after the vote, we received a letter saying that he had voted the way the majority of the people of his district wanted him to vote. Up to that time, Geyer had voted with Roosevelt and the administration on every bill that came up, but because the people of his district were against the Lend-Lease Bill, he voted against it. This, of course,



Lee E. Geyer

lost him favor in the eyes of the administration, but the people of his district returned him to Congress with a large majority.

Our loss is great for we have lost a courageous, fighting champion of the common man, a sincere, honest congressman, and a fine union leader and member. In the words of our Governor Olson, "The State has lost one of its most honored citizens."

HAROLD L. ORR, President
Local No. 430, AFT
Los Angeles, California



Henry Linville

HENRY LINVILLE

(Henry Linville, one of the founders of the AFT and longtime leader of the Teachers Guild of New York City, was killed in an automobile accident in North Carolina last month. The following eulogy by John Dewey, distinguished educator and philosopher, was read at a memorial meeting in New York City.—Ed.)

Henry Linville was one of the very first friends I made outside the circle of my university colleagues when I came to New York City. I have been his friend during the intervening years, when we met often or rarely. Two outstanding traits of his personality are an abiding part of those memories that become a part of our lives. If I searched the list of all the persons I have ever known, to find a flawless example of fair-mindedness, no one would take rank before him. To be fair in his judgment of others, even of those to whom he was opposed, was such an integral and spontaneous part of him that it sometimes seemed as if he leaned over backward and gave others, who were less scrupulous, an advantage which was not their due. Most of us have to make an effort to be fair in our judgments of others under certain circumstances. It didn't seem to require an effort on his part. The other trait that stands out when I think of him is his unswerving and unselfish loyalty. He never wavered in his devotion to the social causes to which he committed himself, without thought of the bearing of the commitment upon his merely personal fortunes.

The memory of these traits of our departed friend is as heartening as it is abiding. No matter how discouraging was the immediate outlook, no matter how depressing the attending circumstances, I never knew him to lose faith or waver in his courage. In the present discouraging and depressed state of the world, the memory of human beings of the quality of Henry Linville is a continuing challenge to the rest of us to fight on in behalf of the human causes to which he devoted his life, and not to waver or lose faith in the triumph of fairness, decency, and kindness.

JOHN DEWEY

Among the New Books

MY COUNTRY 'TIS OF THEE, The Use and Abuse of Natural Resources, by Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Eleanor Bowman, Mary Phelps. *New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940.*

If you have missed this one it is worth your while to go back and read it for it represents as exciting and, at the same time, informative a discussion of the problem of physical resources as has been written. The book itself is divided into four major sections; the first section dealing with *soil*, the second section with *coal*, the third section with *oil*, and a fourth section containing the authors' recommendations for the conservation and better utilization of these resources for the future.

Each of these three major resources is treated in terms of the problems of the *owners*, the *workers*, and the *consumers*. The problems and conflicts among these groups are shown to be subject to increased governmental supervision and regulation. Not only do the authors present the statistical evidence for their conclusions, but add the feeling tones which grow out of their own personal experiences. They contend that, "To the raw materials there must be added a social philosophy, a conception of what government is for, which goes beyond the limits of

any factual resources." They conceive of planning as the instrument by which the majority of the citizens of this country can regulate the use of material resources in such a manner that plenty and abundance of the modern technological world can be more evenly distributed to the owner, the worker, and the consumer. They conclude, "that national planning must strike a fine balance among the conflicting interests and somehow provide the instrument through which our national potentialities can be realized."

The book is interesting in its graphic and photographic illustrations and the very moving verses which the authors have written to conclude each of the main sections of the volume.

PAUL R. HANNA.

★ ★ ★

BERLIN DIARY, William L. Shirer. *New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941. \$3.00.*

Several months have passed since I read *Berlin Diary*. By coincidence, I just finished Ambassador Dodd's diary before taking up Shirer's book. Ambassador Dodd and Mr. Shirer impress one equally with their honesty and their intellectual integrity. Compared to the men they write about, they seem like moral giants. Both books left the same question in my mind: What has happened to our culture which causes it to exhort, to condone lies, to deny mercy, and to debauch mankind?

Berlin Diary was read too long ago to permit me to outline its contents in any chronological or logical form. However, certain impressions from it burn in my memory and will continue to do so. "Why did we do it," I asked myself again and again as I read, "that we Americans failed to understand the nature of the crisis in Europe; why did we refuse to accept the responsibilities of peace after winning the first World War?" But perhaps we were no blinder than the rulers in England and France who believed they were in Hitler the indirect protection of their class interests, the buffer between them and Russia. The terrible record of this same ruling class in Ethiopia and Spain and Munich appalled me and still does.

The French "Maginot" mind, the unwillingness of the entrenched officers of the English and French armies to take advantage of scientific advancement in military techniques, impressed me, too; and caused me to wonder if our generals have learned their lesson. The Greatest of all paradoxes, it seems to me, is the emphasis of rigid barriers between officers and men in the German army and navy and their maintenance in the armies of the democracies.

Finally, as I conclude, I wonder whether there will be enough idealism, enough magnanimity in the world after World War II to do a better job than was done at Versailles, or must the murder and the killing go on and on.

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Last month we carried notices of the book which President Counts prepared for the NEA, *The Education of Free Men in American Democracy*, and a description of the valuable magazine, *Labor Today*. In this issue are advertisements of the *Survey Graphic* and its special numbers; of a series of handbooks, *Practical Suggestions for Teaching*, put out by Teachers College, Columbia University; and of visual aids to education in the form of documentary films.

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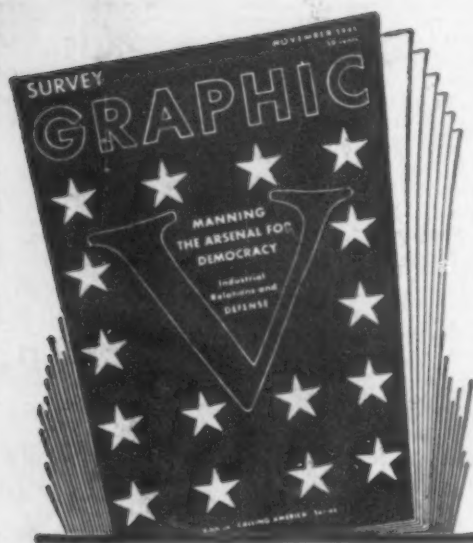
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